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VOLUME 3

THE PANCHATANTRA RECONSTRUCTED

VOLUME 2

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THE PANCHATANTRA RECONSTRUCTED

AN ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH THE LOST ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXT OF THE MOST FAMOUS OF INDIAN STORY-COLLECTIONS ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPAL EXTANT VERSIONS

Text, Critical Apparatus, Introduction, Translation

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VOLUME 2

INTRODUCTION AND TRANSLATION

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THE PANCHATANTRA RECONSTRUCTED

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

PURPOSE AND RESULTS OF THIS BOOK

The Pañcatantra in world literature.—No other work of Hindu literature has played so important a part in the literature of the world as the Sanskrit story-collection called the Pañcatantra. Indeed, the statement has been made[1] that no book except the Bible has enjoyed such an extensive circulation in the world as a whole. This may be—I think it probably is—an exaggeration. Yet perhaps it is easier to underestimate than to overestimate the spread of the Pañcatantra. In Professor Johannes Hertel's book on the subject[2] there are recorded over two hundred different versions known to exist in more than fifty languages, and about three-fourths of these languages are extra-Indian. As early as the eleventh century the work reacht Europe, and before 1600 it existed in Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, German, English, Old Slavonic, Czech,[3] and perhaps other Slavonic languages. Its range has extended from Java to Iceland.

The Pañcatantra in India.—Nor has this famous work been without honor in its own country. No other collection of stories has been so popular thruout the length and breadth of India. It has been workt over again and again, expanded, abstracted, turned into verse, retold in prose, translated into medieval and modern vernaculars, and retranslated into Sanskrit. And most of the stories contained in it have "gone down" into the folk-lore of the story-loving Hindus, whence they reappear in the

[1] According to Winternitz, *DLZ* 31 (1910), 2693, not, however, with his endorsement.

[2] *Das Pañcatantra, seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1914. (Abbreviated "Hertel, *Pañc*.") See the Indices to this book, I, p. 451 f.

[3] In several of the languages named, a number of different versions existed at that early date.

collections of oral tales gathered by modern students of folk-stories[4]

Object of this book, contrasted with previous studies —It is not my purpose at present to trace the history of the Pañcatantra or its stories, as they appear in successive works of literature or in folklore This either has been done, or is being done, by others[5] The task I am undertaking is rather the reverse to follow back the streams of Pañcatantra tradition in the hope of finding their source For my present purpose, the contents of the versions of the Pañcatantra are of interest only in so far as they may throw light on the ultimate source of them all

What was the original Pañcatantra?—Even a superficial examination of the existing Pañcatantra versions indicates with tolerable certainty that they all go back to a book of fables and stories consisting of five books or sections and a brief introduction The introduction provides the "frame" or setting, and at the same time suggests what must have been to the author's mind the key-note of the whole work it was supposed to be a kind of *Fürstenspiegel* or *Mirror for Magistrates*, teaching worldly wisdom to princes, by entertaining examples, as well as by cleverly phrased precepts The precepts are principally found in the verses which are abundantly scattered thru most parts of the work The examples consist in the stories themselves, which are told mainly in prose Each of the five sections or "books" forms a dramatic unit in itself, and all five are, as I said, set into the Introduction as a frame In the Introduction a wise brahman undertakes to enlighten three ignorant princes He does so by narrating to them, one after another, the five books of the Pañcatantra Each of the five books contains not only a primary story, which we call the "frame-story," but also at least one, and usually several, "emboxt" stories, that is, stories represented as told by one character in the frame-story to another Sometimes there is a double "emboxment" a character in an "emboxt" story tells

[4] See W Norman Brown, "The Pañcatantra in Modern Indian Folklore," *JAOS* 39 1 ff This subject is not included in Hertel's *Pañcatantra*, mentioned in note 2 above

[5] See notes 2 and 4 above

a story to another character. (In some of the late versions of the Pañcatantra this process was carried even further, so that we have a sort of "Chinese nest" of stories.) Most of the stories are beast-fables, that is their principal actors are animals deckt out with human properties; but a number of them have only human characters, while some have both men and animals, and even—tho rarely—gods and other supernatural beings. The stories are in general very well told and of a high artistic quality. Unevennesses and inconsistencies appear not infrequently in all of the existing versions, to be sure. But I hope to be able to show that most of them (not quite all) are secondary, and due to the fact that the tales tend to deteriorate with retelling. Most of the stories remain true to the key-note of the book, its Machiavellian character; they are generally unmoral, and at times positively immoral, in the political lessons they inculcate. The story-teller and the political strategist are combined in the personality of the author, and on the whole combined very successfully. Sometimes one gets the upper hand, sometimes the other. There are passages which become tiresomely technical in their expatiations on policy. More numerous, it seems to me (and fortunately so, from our point of view), are the passages in which the author as a master of narrative forgets his profest practical purpose and loses himself in the joy of telling a rattling good story.[6] In general, however, the two things are very skilfully united, so that a story which is clever in itself, as a story, also becomes an apt illustration of a political maxim.

Interest of this investigation.—Such, very briefly, seems to have been the original Pañcatantra. If the genuine and primitive text of it were known to us; or if we were in possession of a text which could be called a reasonably close approximation to it; then this book would be unnecessary, or at least less necessary. Unfortunately we have neither of these things; certainly not the original Pañcatantra, and in my opinion—an opinion which I hope to prove in the course of this book—no

[6] On this point I do not agree with Hertel, who thinks that the original contained no story that did not teach a definite political lesson, and consequently rejects all stories in which he cannot find any. I shall return to this subject later, see page 77, note 2, page 185.

reasonably close approximation to it If this be true, and if there is any possibility of reconstructing the lost original with reasonable accuracy and confidence, the task would seem worth the pains If any study in literary genetics has interest or value, surely it must be worth while to recreate the original form of a work that has enjoyed such enormous popularity in so many different times and lands.

Method employed in the reconstruction—My method may be briefly described as follows I first selected the versions of the Pañcatantra which, on the basis of previous studies (especially Hertel's), could be assumed to contain all, or at least practically all, the evidence that could be used in reconstructing the original Pañcatantra [7] All other known versions can be practically excluded from consideration, since they are known to be almost or quite completely dependent on one or another of these versions, hence whatever they have of the original may in general be assumed to come from one of these older and more original versions [8]

Next, I undertook a very minute comparison of all the materials found in each of these versions in so far as they correspond in meaning to materials found in any of the others For this purpose I divided the texts into the smallest possible units, each unit consisting, as a rule, in the case of the Sanskrit versions, of a single stanza or prose sentence,—sometimes of a part of a sentence.[9] I treated the text of each version

[7] These are Tantrākhyāyika, Southern Pañcatantra, Nepalese Pañcatantra, Hitopadeça (in greater part a Pañcatantra version), the poetic versions found in Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara and in Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, the "textus simplicior," Pūrnabhadra, and the principal offshoots of the Pahlavi translation

[8] Possibly an exception might be made of some of the offshoots of the "textus simplicior," of which text we have no critical edition But I believe that there is little chance of serious vitiation of the final result on account of this See page 28 I have used all the information available to me (especially in Hertel's book, *Das Pañcatantra*) regarding the numerous later versions of the Pañcatantra. A few bits of interesting evidence bearing on minor points of the reconstruction have been extracted from them, and will be presented at the proper places In general they do not affect the result, but merely tend to confirm conclusions which were reacht without their aid

[9] A start towards such a subdivision was furnisht by Hertel in the table printed in the Einleitung to his translation of the Tantrākhyāyika, pages

critically, noting variant readings of different manuscripts and editions in so far as these are available.

Confronting these text-units, as found in the different versions, with each other, I studied the relationship of the versions. When a sentence or verse was found in identical or practically identical language, and in the same position, in all the prose Sanskrit recensions, and when its general sense was found in the poetic and translated recensions, I assumed that this sentence or verse was a literal inheritance from the original. I found that such obvious correspondences[10] are sufficiently numerous to establish, as it seems to me, beyond the possibility of doubt the fact that all these recensions do in truth go back to the single literary archetype assumed. Otherwise it would seem impossible to explain so many verbal identities, not only in verses, but also in prose.

However, in the large majority of cases I was not so fortunate as to find such general and absolute agreement. Here it was necessary, by a careful examination of the cumulative evidence of *all* the parallel text-units, to discover the relationship of the versions to the original and to each other, in order rightly to interpret their variations.[11] Unless and until this could be done with an approach to certainty, no reconstruction could be made, with any confidence, of passages in which the existing versions disagree, or which are totally lacking in some of them, for otherwise we could not answer the question, which version is more apt to be original in any given case?

100 ff. My own comparisons included a number of texts not included in this table, and my subdivisions of the text are much more minute. For instance, Hertel does not divide the prose text of the "emboxt" stories at all. He does furnish the correspondences of all individual stanzas that occur in the versions included in his table. I found Hertel's table very useful as a starting-point. It goes without saying, however, that I did not assume without careful verification any of the correspondences stated in it. In fact it contains quite a number of errors, and a more considerable number of omissions, especially in regard to the Pahlavi versions.

[10] For examples, see Chapter VI.

[11] Here again I found myself to no small degree anticipated by Hertel, but also, I found that in many important respects the evidence seemed to disprove some of his most cherisht theories. I shall make clear below the extent to which I agree with his views as to the genealogy of the Pañcatantra versions.

Primary results of this investigation.—I must postpone for a time a more detailed statement of the way in which this problem was approacht (See Chapter III, pages 49 ff.) I wish now to state briefly just what I think has been accomplisht in regard to the primary object of the investigation, the constitution of the text of the original Pañcatantra. The Sanskrit text here publisht and translated can, in my opinion, be regarded as a close approximation to that original. It is surely, I think, very much closer to it than any existing version. More specifically, it seems to me that the following facts regarding it can be demonstrated—if not beyond the possibility of doubt, at least with an approach to certainty as great as one can often hope to attain in a matter of literary genetics. The grounds on which these propositions are based will, of course, be furnisht later.

1. Every *story* contained in my reconstruction can be attributed with great confidence—in my opinion, with virtual certainty—to the original Pañcatantra.

2. The original—again with virtual certainty—contained no other stories than these.

3. Every *stanza* contained in my reconstruction occurred in the original, with the possible exception of those which I enclose in parentheses in text and translation (thirty out of four hundred and twenty-two stanzas).

4. It is very possible that the original contained some verses which are not included in my reconstruction. I believe that there were not very many such.

5. As to the *prose passages*, which for the most part constitute the stories proper: every sentence of my reconstruction represents at least the general sense of a corresponding sentence of the original, except that

> (a) Such sentences, phrases, words, or parts of words as I enclose in parentheses cannot with certainty be attributed to the original, that is, they may perhaps be secondary insertions. They constitute, roughly, perhaps five to eight percent of the total prose.
>
> (b) Such sentences, phrases, or words as I enclose between daggers may fail to reproduce even the general idea of the original, altho the evidence shows that the original

had *something* where they stand That is, the versions are so seriously discordant that they force us to resort to guess-work as to which retains the general sense of the original Such cases are negligibly few

6 I believe that there was very little, if any, prose matter in the original of which I have failed to include in my reconstruction at least the general sense

7 Furthermore, in the case of all Sanskrit words or parts of words which I print in Roman type, as distinguisht from italics, and outside of parentheses, I believe we can be virtually, if not absolutely, certain that we have preserved the exact language of the original Pañcatantra This is the case with most of the stanzas, and a not inconsiderable part of the prose We occasionally find entire prose sentences which I believe reproduce the original, word for word and letter for letter More frequent are sentences of which this is only approximately true, and still more frequent are sentences which contain a few words, or only a word or two, that were *certainly* in the original exactly as they stand, while there are many sentences of which even this can not be said In the case of the verses, on the other hand, only a minority are in such a state that we cannot predicate originality of the greatest part of their language In the case of both prose and verses I print in italics, in the text, all matter of which I do not feel virtually certain that it literally reproduces the original

8 The *order* of the original—not only the stories, but the individual verses and prose sentences—was, with a very few possible exceptions, exactly as it is in my reconstruction As to the order of the stories there are no exceptions Attention is called in my Critical Apparatus to the few cases in which doubt exists as to the relative order, in the original, of verses and prose sections The somewhat more frequent, but less significant, uncertainties regarding the exact order of individual words in a sentence are not always specifically mentioned by me, because they are both obvious, and of minor importance

Incidental results of this investigation.—One incidental result of this investigation is the fact to which I have already alluded, that many flaws in existing versions, even in the best of

them, are now shown to be unoriginal In other words, the original Pañcatantra turns out to have been a finer work, artistically, than any of its descendants This statement holds good, as a general proposition, of the relationship between the original and at least the older existing versions—those which I have used in my work When they depart from the original, they almost always make it worse There are exceptions, but they are not numerous —More important by-products of the work are the considerable number of cases in which light is thrown on problems regarding the text or interpretation of individual versions, as well as on their general interrelationships In many cases the evidence of other versions tells us which of several variant manuscript readings should be adopted in a particular version In some cases uncertainties as to the meaning of a passage are liquidated by reference to the other versions [12] And I hope to have furnisht a more correct picture of the relative positions of the several extant versions than has been furnisht previously (see my genealogical table of the versions, page 48, and Chapters IV and V of this Introduction).

Extent of divergence from Hertel's results.—Students of the Pañcatantra will be particularly interested to know the extent to which my results tend to confirm or disprove the opinions of Professor Johannes Hertel, to whose long-continued activities in this field we owe so much, particularly as to the relations of the several versions to each other and to the original It seems, therefore, worth while to summarize as follows the extent to which my own views, based on the studies contained in this book, differ from Hertel's For a more detailed statement, see Chapter V below.

1. There are four independent streams of Pañcatantra tradition. (For the list, see page 52) Hertel believes that there are only two, Tantrākhyāyika, and "K", archetype of all other versions (and in part of one subrecension of Tantrākhyāyika)

[12] See for instance my article on "Evil-wit, No-wit and Honest-wit," *JAOS* 40 271 ff, in which I explain the previously misunderstood verse Tantrākhyāyika I vs 167 (Reconstruction I vs 158) by reference to the parallel versions

2 Positive agreement between versions belonging to any two of these constitutes *prima facie* evidence of the reading of the original Pañcatantra

3 Hertel assumes that *all* existing versions go back to a corrupt archetype, which he calls "t" This I think is pure imagination

4 Hertel assumes an intermediate archetype "K", to which all versions except Tantrākhyāyika go back, and from which even one subrecension of Tantrākhyāyika was contaminated I think this "K" is a myth The versions in question do not go back to any secondary archetype They are not especially closely related—no more closely than any one of them is related to Tantrākhyāyika (thru the original Pañcatantra)

5 Hertel also assumes another intermediate archetype "N-W", to which the Southern Pañcatantra (and its relatives, the Nepalese Pañcatantra and the Hitopadeśa), the Pahlavi, and the Simplicior go back This also, I think, is a myth These versions are not connected in any close or secondary way

6 The manuscripts of the subrecension of the Tantrākhyāyika which Hertel calls β are not, certainly not to any considerable extent, interpolated, as compared with the other subrecension, α On the contrary, α is fragmentary, and when it fails to reproduce something found in β, it is generally, if not invariably, α which has lost something, not β which has inserted it The subrecension β is as pure a Tantrākhyāyika version as α, and on the whole a better representative of the original No Tantrākhyāyika text, however, has anything like the privileged position among Pañcatantra versions which Hertel claims for the Tantrākhyāyika as a whole

Other, less important, points on which I differ from Hertel will be brought out later Most of the other statements found or implied in his genealogical table ("Stammbaum") of Pañcatantra versions are borne out by my results

CHAPTER II

THE MATERIALS

Pañcatantra versions used in the reconstruction.—In this chapter I shall give a summary account of the texts which have formed the basis of my work, and their interrelationships as I conceive them, with an estimate of the value of each of them for my purpose I shall reserve for later chapters lengthy discussions of such of my statements as may need them

As already stated in footnote 7 on page 6 (*cf* also footnote 8, same page), the versions which I have principally used are Tantrākhyāyika, Southern Pañcatantra, Nepalese Pañcatantra, Hitopadeśa, the versions found in Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara and Ksemendra's Brhatkathāmañjarī, the so-called "textus simplicior," Pūrnabhadra, and the principal offshoots of the Pahlavi translation

The Tantrākhyāyika

The Tantrākhyāyika (abbreviated T).[1]—This is a recension of which the only manuscripts known come from Kashmir and are written in the Śāradā alphabet It was discovered by Hertel in the early years of the twentieth century It exists in two subrecensions, called by Hertel α and β, each of which contains one or more stories, and (at least in the case of β) a more considerable number of verses and prose sentences, which the other lacks Except for this, however, the text found in both recensions is practically identical; the different readings in the manuscripts are comparatively few and un-

[1] Edition Tantrākhyāyika Die alteste Fassung des Pañcatantra herausgegeben von Johannes Hertel Berlin, 1910 (Abh kgl Ges d Wiss zu Gottingen, phil-hist Kl, N F Bd XII, no 2)—Translation Tantrākhyāyika Die alteste Fassung des Pañcatantra, aus dem Sanskrit ubersetzt mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen von Johannes Hertel 2 Vols Leipzig and Berlin, 1909.

important. Hertel's edition combines the two, and quotes the variant readings of both in the critical apparatus; it tends to prefer the readings of α to those of β in case of a disagreement, because the editor believes that α is the more original recension. My own opinion is rather the reverse. In any case, however, the readings of *all* the manuscripts quoted by Hertel must be considered in a critical study of the text. It is not safe to neglect any of them.

Extent to which the Tantrākhyāyika preserves the original text.—The Tantrākhyāyika gives us, on the whole, more of the original text than any other recension. I estimate that it contains the general sense, at least, of ninety-five per cent of the original text, both prose and verses. And the exact language of the original appears to have been preserved intact more extensively in the Tantrākhyāyika than in any other version. These statements are more nearly true of the β subrecension than of the α; the α subrecension has omitted one entire story and a number of individual sentences and verses which β has preserved from the original, whereas the reverse is very seldom the case (in particular, β has all the stories of the original, and α has no *original* verses that are lacking in β). Yet there are, in the aggregate, a not inconsiderable number of clear omissions in the Tantrākhyāyika,—that is, in all manuscripts alike. To some extent these may be due merely to imperfect textual tradition. For there are some obvious and indubitable lacunae in the text as we have it,—some passages in which it is clear that the author or redactor of the Tantrākhyāyika wrote something that has been lost from our manuscripts (all of which are late and more or less corrupt). There are, however, also cases in which the omission of something original appears to go back to the redactor of the Tantrākhyāyika, or even to an archetype of it, a still older but also secondary version. There are likewise many cases in which the Tantrākhyāyika's text has more or less seriously altered, without entirely omitting, a section of the original.

Secondary additions in the Tantrākhyāyika.—The infidelities to the original found in Tantrākhyāyika consist mainly of insertions and expansions rather than omissions or substitutions. Both of its subrecensions contain three stories which did not

belong to the original, and, in addition, α alone contains one other, and β alone five others (but three of these five may really have been found in α, since the α manuscripts happen to have long lacunae at the points where β has these stories)[2]

Moreover, both recensions contain a quite considerable number of verses and prose passages which are certainly or probably unoriginal This is more true of β than of α, α contains few insertions (only a single stanza, for instance, except those pertaining to the interpolated story α III 5) which are not found also in β

Hertel's views of the Tantrākhyāyika —Altho my object in this chapter is to give mainly a summary of my own deductions from my investigations, rather than to engage in controversy, I feel that it would be unfair to the discoverer, and first editor and translator, of the Tantrākhyāyika if I failed to mention at this point the extent to which my views of this version differ from his When he first discovered the Tantrākhyāyika, Hertel hailed it as the genuine, original "Urtext" of the Pañcatantra itself,—the very thing which it is the object of my present investigation to reconstruct This opinion was decidedly untenable, and Hertel has withdrawn materially from it His present, much more modest opinion he has stated as follows[3] "The enormous advantage which the Tantrākhyāyika furnishes us lies in the fact that it is the only version which contains the unabbreviated and not intentionally altered language of the author, which no other Indian Pañcatantra version has preserved,

[2] The inserted stories of the Tantrākhyāyika are I 8 (Blue Jackal), I 13 (Jackal outwits Camel and Lion), II 4 (Weaver Somilaka), in α alone, α III. 5 (Treacherous Bawd), in β alone, III 7 (King Sivi), β III 11 (Fox and Talking Cave), III 11 of edition (Old Hansa), IV 1 (Punisht Onion-thief), β IV. 3 (Potter as Warrior) There are lacunae in α at the places where β has the first, third, and fourth of the five last named All but one (King Śivi) of these nine stories occur somewhere in some one or other of the other recensions included in my study Nevertheless I think they can all be shown pretty conclusively to be secondary Hertel also regards them as secondary. He likewise holds several other stories found in both recensions, and one story (Old Man, Young Wife, and Thief) found only in β (Appendix, β III. 6), to be certainly or possibly secondary I shall show later that there seem to be good grounds tor considering them original

[3] *ZDMG* 69. 113 (year 1915), this is the latest statement on the subject from Hertel which I have seen

while the Pahlavi translation distorts it by numerous misunderstandings" This is qualified elsewhere by the admission that in addition to the 'unabbreviated language of the author' it contains also numerous additions and interpolations from later hands[4] But even thus qualified, the statement seems to me misleading in two respects

First, I think that many of the alterations (which are after all rather numerous in the aggregate, if proportionally few, they certainly mount into the hundreds) made by the Tantrākhyāyika in the text of the original were probably just as "intentional" as the alterations made in other versions Surely the insertions, which Hertel himself admits were numerous, must have been "intentional" alterations, and if the redactor of the Tantrākhyāyika "intentionally" changed the text in one way, why should he not have done so in another? In fact I think it can be proved that he or his archetype did, almost surely "intentionally," make many changes—including both omissions and substitutions—in the original author's words

Secondly, I think it is a very serious exaggeration to describe the advantage which the Tantrākhyāyika has over the other versions in this respect as "enormous" (*ungeheuer*) *All* the Sanskrit versions which I have used in this work contain some of the original author's words The mainly prosaic recensions (Southern Pañcatantra, Hitopadeśa, "textus simplicior," Pūrṇabhadra) show, by the extent to which they agree verbally with the Tantrākhyāyika and with each other, that to a not inconsiderable extent (tho, I grant, not to the same extent as Tantrākhyāyika) they too "contain the unabbreviated and not [intentionally] altered language of the author" The same was true of the Sanskrit original of the Pahlavi And when these other versions differ from the Tantrākhyāyika, it is not by any means safe to assume that the Tantrākhyāyika is more original than they. Especially is this true of the Southern Pañcatantra To be sure, the Southern Pañcatantra abbreviates the text to a considerable extent. But it is equally true—and this is what Hertel seems to overlook—that it contains a

[4] Hertel actually admits more interpolations in the text of Tantrākhyāyika than I should, at least, he regards as insertions, certain or probable, several stories which I consider genuine

very large proportion of the original text in unabbreviated, or only slightly abbreviated, form In a great many sentences it agrees *literatim* with other versions, especially the Tantrakhyāyika And it has one great advantage over the Tantrākhyāyika, that it has almost no interpolations Nearly everything which it contains is taken from the original, at least in general sense, and largely in exact language —I shall point out in dealing with the various other versions, especially the two Jain versions ("Simplicior" and Pūrnabhadra), that Hertel underestimates their value, also, as representatives of the original

The Tantrākhyāyika has no privileged position among Pañcatantra versions —In short, the difference between the Tantrākhyāyika and the other versions, in their relations to the original, is a difference of degree and not a difference of kind All are to a considerable extent original All are to a not inconsiderable extent unoriginal *On the whole*, the Tantrākhyāyika contains more of the original than any other But it would not be true to say that a greater proportion of the text of the Tantrākhyāyika is original than of any other In this respect it is surpast by the Southern Pañcatantra, which has much less *unoriginal* material than the Tantrākhyāyika, and probably less than any other version,[5] except the greatly abbreviated and versified Somadeva And I would lay special emphasis on the words "on the whole," italicized above In spite of all his reservations, Hertel tends to assume much too lightly that the language of the Tantrākhyāyika is the language of the original Pañcatantra In my opinion this can never be assumed without confirmation from some other version. And there are, all in all, a good many cases in which not only is such confirmation lacking, but on the contrary the other versions prove quite conclusively that the Tantrākhyāyika s language is *unoriginal* See Chapter VII below, where I have collected fully two hundred such cases [6]

[5] It might be equalled in this respect by the Sanskrit original of the Pahlavi, if we had it

[6] Over-confidence in Hertel's opinion has misled many scholars, including myself in the past, in this respect Thus in *AJP* 36 53 I drew the same distinction that Hertel draws between the Tantrākhyāyika and all other versions, stating that the latter were all "deliberately and radically recon-

On the relation of the Tantrākhyāyika to the Jain versions, see below page 36 ff.

THE SOUTHERN PAÑCATANTRA AND RELATED VERSIONS

The Southern Pañcatantra (abbreviated SP) [7]—As the name implies, this version is characteristic of Southern India Its numerous manuscripts are groupt by its editor, Hertel, in five subrecensions, which he calls α, β, γ, δ, and ξ He considers α the best and most original subrecension, on the whole, and in this he is clearly right The readings of the α manuscripts, as quoted by him, regularly (tho not invariably) tend to agree more closely with other versions than those of the β manuscripts The other three subrecensions contain many secondary insertions and are in general inferior The readings of the subrecensions α and β often differ considerably,—more than those of the Tantrākhyāyika α and β, for instance In view of the general superiority of α, it is unfortunate that Hertel in his edition chose to ignore α in constituting the text which he prints; using β exclusively, even in the many cases where β is corrupt and α gives us the true reading This means that anyone who wishes to make any scientific use of the Southern Pañcatantra must go to the great trouble of searching thru the wilderness of Hertel's critical apparatus for the readings

structed", so as to be "really quite new works" So also Thomas, *JRAS* 1910, p 971 "The differences which mark off the other redactions [than Tantr] are of an order practically precluding textual comparison, they belong to the higher criticism, involving omissions and insertions of whole stories .. in fact recasting of a drastic character" I now realize that such views must be abandoned Both Thomas and I, like many others, were too easily imprest by the extreme confidence of Hertel's statements Thomas frankly stated in the same article (p. 970) that he had not undertaken a real verification of Hertel's theories, since that "would demand an amount of time comparable to that spent upon it by Dr. Hertel himself." Having now spent such an amount of time upon it, I feel better able to distinguish the sound from the unsound in Hertel's work

[7] The *editio princeps*, by M Haberlandt (Sitzungsberichte of the Vienna Academy, phil.-hist. Kl., Bd 107, p. 397 ff) is now superseded by the following Das südliche Pañcatantra Sanskrittext der Rezension β mit den Lesarten der besten Hss der Rezension α Herausgegeben von Johannes Hertel Leipzig, 1906 (Abh. d phil.-hist Kl d kgl sächs Ges. d. Wiss, Bd 24, no 5) No translation into a European language has yet appeared

of the α manuscripts on every single word,—a wearisome and gratuitous labor which Hertel ought to have spared the users of his book [8]

Extent to which the Southern Pañcatantra preserves the original text—As Hertel has repeatedly stated, the Southern Pañca tantra gives us a text which is, at least to some degree, an abstract The abbreviation of the original is, however, not so drastic as one might suppose from reading Hertel's statements Every original story is preserved The general sense of the narrative is faithfully followed, as a rule Seldom is an essential feature omitted or obscured by abbreviation More than this a large number of individual sentences are taken over from the original, either verbatim, or with only slight changes I estimate that more than three-quarters of the bulk of the prose found in the original is found, at least as to general

[8] Hertel's reason for this procedure was a passionate opposition, amounting almost to a mania, to what he calls "eclecticism" According to him, the α manuscripts of the Southern Pañcatantra are not complete enuf to make it possible to print their text in its entirety, and so, rather than "contaminate" the β text with the readings of other subrecensions, he chose to print the "pure" text of β (with quantities of corruptions which are simply uninterpretable) These considerations do not seem to me valid It is not "eclecticism" to print the best text available of an individual recension, such as SP, using *all* manuscripts of that recension, whatever their interrelationship A subrecension, so-called, is not an independent version, it is merely a convenient grouping of manuscripts All the subrecensions (if the word is properly used) represent ultimately one and the same text There is no scientific interest or value in the stupid scribal blunders of SPβ, which distort so much of the printed text of the Southern Pañcatantra, and there is very little interest in the still more numerous variations of β which are grammatically and semantically possible, but shown by agreements of the α manuscripts with other versions to be secondary. What we should have desired of Hertel is the best approach possible to the true "Urtext" of the Southern Pañcatantra —That Hertel made this error of judgment, to the great inconvenience of all users of his edition, is all the more surprizing in view of the contrary system which he (very rightly) adopted in editing the Tantrākhyāyika In that case, altho he regards Tantrākhyāyika α as more original than β, he does not hesitate to reject its readings in favor of those of β when the latter are (in his eyes) evidently required by the sense, nor to fill the extensive lacunae of the α mss by the text of β. This is just as much "eclecticism" as it would have been to print the text of Southern Pañcatantra α so far as available, supplementing it by β, and no more so

sense and to a considerable extent as to exact language, in the Southern Pañcatantra [9] The proportion of original verses preserved is only slightly less (more than two-thirds) The compression of SP should not obscure the fact that it does, after all, preserve very much of the original, and often more accurately than the Tantrākhyāyika

Secondary additions in the Southern Pañcatantra —The Southern Pañcatantra contains very few interpolations There is one interpolated story (I 12, Shepherdess and Lovers) There are a very few insertions or expansions in the prose narrative, and apparently a few inserted verses [10] Nearly the whole of the text may be regarded as representing the contents of the original Pañcatantra

The Nepalese Pañcatantra (abbreviated N) —In 1905 Hertel received a copy of part of a Nepalese manuscript apparently intending to furnish the *verses*, only, of a Pañcatantra recension nearly allied to the Southern Pañcatantra Later he received another copy containing the remaining portions of presumably the same manuscript This Nepalese version [11] contains nearly (tho not quite) all the verses contained in the α subrecension of the Southern Pañcatantra It also contains one single prose sentence found in the latter Evidently this was included by the redactor under the impression that it was a verse This circumstance incidentally shows—what we should assume *a priori*—that this recension was prepared on the basis of a

[9] It must be remembered that Hertel's printed text will not show this to anything like the extent that the α manuscripts show it

[10] We are compelled to regard, provisionally, as insertions such verses as appear only in the Southern Pañcatantra and the related Nepalese text and Hitopadeśa It is probable that most of them, at least, were not found in the original, as otherwise the chances are that *some* other version would preserve a trace of them However, this can of course not be considered certain, and in view of the general rarity of insertions in SP, it is by no means unlikely that some of these verses may be inherited from the original The fact that most of the verses are only loosely set in their surroundings, and that it is easy both to insert and to omit them, makes it more difficult to be sure of the secondary character of verses than of prose text-units which are found in only one stream of tradition

[11] Edited by Hertel Introduction and Books I—III in the "Anmerkungen" (p 117 ff) to his edition of the Southern Pañcatantra, Books IV and V on p XXVII of the Introduction to his edition of the Tantrākhyāyika

complete Pañcatantra text containing, as usual, both prose and verses. Since the Nepalese text contains not a single verse or sentence that is not found in the Southern Pañcatantra (α), it is safe to assume that its original was a text very similar to that. Since, however, it frequently happens that the Nepalese text has readings which are different from those of the Southern Pañcatantra (all manuscripts), and since neither is consistently superior to the other, but each often has readings shown by the other Pañcatantra versions to be more original than the other: therefore we may agree with Hertel in thinking that the Southern Pañcatantra and the complete text on which the Nepalese is based were not identical, nor directly derived one from the other, but that they are closely related offshoots of the same archetype (which I would propose to call the "Ur-SP," that is the archetype of the Southern Pañcatantra). We shall presently see that the archetype of the Nepalese text (called by me "Ur-N") was the same as that of the Hitopadeśa.

The Hitopadeśa (abbreviated H): its origin [12]—This is a version connected especially with Bengal, where it is very popular, and where it presumably originated. At any rate it has supplanted all other Pañcatantra versions in popular favor there. The author gives his own name as Nārāyana, and tells us that he used "the Pañcatantra and another work" in composing the Hitopadeśa. He probably lived between 800 and 1373 A. D.; it has not been possible to determine the date more exactly (Hertel, *Pañc*, p. 39). The version of the Pañcatantra

[12] Repeatedly edited, but a satisfactory critical edition is yet to be made. For my present investigation I have used the two best of those accessible to me (Schlegel's, unfortunately, was not accessible), namely: (1) Hitopadeśa by Nârâyana. Edited by Peter Peterson. Bombay, 1887 (Bombay Sanskrit Series, no. XXXIII.)—(2) Handbooks for the Study of Sanskrit. Edited by Max Müller, M. A. I. The First Book of the Hitopadesa. . London, 1864. II. The Second, Third and Fourth Books of the Hitopadeśâ. London, 1865. —Müller's edition does not pretend to be critical or scholarly, being professedly a reader for beginners. Nevertheless it seems to me, on the whole, that the text is as good as Peterson's. Each contains many original features that are changed in the other, so that they are both valuable for our purposes. Peterson's edition claims to be critical; Hertel speaks slightingly (perhaps too slightingly) of its reliability.—Numerous translations of the Hitopadesa have been made in most modern European languages. See Hertel, *Pañc*, 43 ff. A literal, interlinear translation is furnisht in Muller's edition.

which he used was, as Hertel has indicated, apparently the same one (called by me "Ur-N") which served as a basis for the Nepalese verse-text mentioned above, that is, a near relative of the Southern Pañcatantra. This is shown by the following facts: (1) Books I and II of the Pañcatantra are transposed in the Nepalese text and the Hitopadeśa, and in no other versions. (2) The Hitopadeśa, like the Nepalese text, contains most of the verses of the Southern Pañcatantra (except those which occur in parts of the work omitted by it), and its readings tend strongly to agree with those of the Nepalese when the latter differs from the Southern Pañcatantra. The Hitopadeśa also contains a few verses of the Southern Pañcatantra which the Nepalese, perhaps by accident, omits. It contains practically no original Pañcatantra verses that are not found in the Southern Pañcatantra. (3) The prose text of the Hitopadeśa, in so far as it belongs to the Pañcatantra tradition, tends to agree closely with that of the Southern Pañcatantra.

General plan of the Hitopadeśa.—As already indicated, the Hitopadeśa is a combination of Pañcatantra materials with those of some other, unnamed work (or works?). Its general plan appears to have been largely original with its author. To be sure, the transposition of Pañcatantra Books I and II goes back, as we have seen, to its immediate Pañcatantra archetype. And the frame-work of these two books is mainly preserved in Hitopadeśa Books II and I. But the rest of the work is quite new in plan. Instead of five books, the Hitopadeśa has only four. Its third book has as its frame a story which is only a remote reflex of Pañcatantra Book III. The frame of its fourth book is wholly new, tho evidently intended as a companion-piece to Book III and suggested by the title of the original Pañcatantra's third book.[13] Book IV of the Pañcatantra is wholly omitted; the stories of Book V, including the frame-story, are included as emboxt stories in Hitopadeśa Books III

[13] Pañc Book III is entitled "War and Peace" and narrates the story of a war between the crows and the owls. Hit Book III is called "War" and tells the story of a war between two other species of birds, the "rāja-haṅsas" and the peacocks; its Book IV is called "Peace" and tells how peace was made between the same two parties.

and IV Several of the emboxt stories of Pañcatantra Book I are transferred to the Hitopadeśa's new Book IV, those of Pañcatantra Book III are impartially divided between Hitopadeśa Books III and IV, not a few stories of the first three books of the Pañcatantra are omitted altogether, and various stories not found in the Pañcatantra are inserted in all four books of the Hitopadeśa, presumably from the unnamed "other work" referred to by Nārāyana

Extent to which the Hitopadeśa preserves the original text.—In spite of this extensive rearrangement of its materials, the Hitopadeśa is of considerable value for the reconstruction of the original Pañcatantra It preserves most of the frame-stories of Books I and II, and over half of the emboxt stories of the entire Pañcatantra More important is this fact in so far as it uses a Pañcatantra archetype at all, it tends to follow it rather closely, not only in general sense, but in exact language, altho there are stories in which, by exception, it departs widely I estimate that it contains at least the general sense of not far from two-fifths of the prose, and nearly one-third of the verses, of the original Pañcatantra If the first two books of the Pañcatantra be considered separately, the proportion of their materials preserved in the Hitopadeśa would be higher (perhaps one-half of the prose and two-fifths of the verses) Since its Pañcatantra archetype was closely allied to the Southern Pañcatantra, it will be found that it tends to agree in general with the readings of that text But it forms a valuable check on them, and not infrequently shows superior readings, agreeing with other versions against the Southern Pañcatantra To a considerable extent it replaces for us the lost prose of the archetype of the Nepalese verse-text. It even contains, tho rarely, sections of the original which are entirely omitted in all our manuscripts of the Southern Pañcatantra

Secondary additions in the Hitopadeśa.—We have spoken already of the numerous new stories found in the Hitopadeśa Aside from these, there occur, in the stories and parts of stories taken from the Pañcatantra, a considerable number of inserted verses, and some expansions of the prose narrative The latter are, however, not numerous

THE BṚHATKATHĀ VERSIONS (SOMADEVA AND KṢEMENDRA)

The Pañcatantra's position in the Bṛhatkathā.—The studies of F Lacôte[14] in the existing descendants of the great story-collection, in Prakrit verse, called the Bṛhatkathā and attributed to Guṇāḍhya, have made it practically certain that the original text of that work contained no version of the Pañcatantra But, according to Lacôte—and his arguments seem strong, tho not perhaps absolutely compelling, on this point too—a version of it was contained in a later recast, and expansion, of the Bṛhatkathā, made at an uncertain date apparently in northwest India,—perhaps in Kashmir Lacôte believes that this recast, too, and consequently the Pañcatantra version contained in it, was composed in Prakrit verse, in the dialect called Paiśācī This northwestern Bṛhatkathā, like its archetype, the original work, is lost to us It is known only thru two later versions Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara (or, as it was perhaps called originally, Bṛhatkathāsaritsāgara, see Speyer, *Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara*, Amsterdam, 1908), and Kṣemendra s Bṛhatkathāmañjarī Both of these works are in Sanskrit verse, and both were composed in Kashmir, probably in the eleventh century A D The evidence of these two works seems to prove that the Pañcatantra version contained in their common original was very radically abbreviated Apparently it omitted the Introduction and at least one story of the original (I 3) Certainly it aimed to tell the tales as briefly as possible, and contained few, if any, expansions, while omitting many features of the original which seemed to its author unessential Especially the verses of the original suffered in the abbreviation Very few of them survived[15] The reason for this is clear, most of the verses are moralizing, proverbial stanzas, and are not a real part of the narrative at all

Effect of language and versification on the Bṛhatkathā versions—If Lacôte is right in supposing that Somadeva and Kṣemendra

[14] Particularly in his *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā*, Paris, 1908

[15] Only about one-fifth of all the verses of the original have traces preserved in Somadeva and Kṣemendra together (counting those which occur in one but not in the other) And a number of these are "catch-verses" of stories, not the ordinary proverbial stanzas

go back to an original, the northwestern Bṛhatkathā, which was composed in the Paiśācī Prakrit, then it follows that the Sanskrit of these two versions is a retranslation of a translation This would lead us to expect that little, if any, of the exact language of the original could be preserved in them Add to this consideration their poetic form, and their drastic abbreviation, and it would seem hard to believe that they could give us many words just as the original had them Nevertheless we find in the aggregate quite a good many such, altho few in comparison with the mainly prosaic Sanskrit recensions The preservation—or restoration—of some words of the original Sanskrit after two translations can be explained by the fact that the first translation was into a Prakritic dialect, that is a dialect closely related to Sanskrit, which preserved the bulk of the Sanskrit vocabulary, with only the usual phonetic and morphological changes in the words Hence it is not, after all, surprising that some of these words were retranslated into the same Sanskrit words that were found in the original So it happens that these versions are of some help in determining even the exact language of the original There are, however, few, if any, entire sentences or verses of the original that are preserved intact in them [16]

Ksemendra (abbreviated Ks) [17]—Ksemendra's text is the most drastically abbreviated of all those which I have used It carries the abbreviation much farther than its supposed archetype, the lost northwestern Bṛhatkathā, apparently did,—at least much farther than Somadeva does. Nevertheless it contains

[16] One or two cases in which this is approximately the case in Kṣemendra may be due to its borrowings from the Tantrākhyāyika, see below

[17] The Pañcatantra section of Ksemendra has been edited by itself *Der Auszug aus dem Pañcatantra in Kshemendras Bṛhatkathâmañjarî* Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen von Leo von Mańkowski, Dr iur et phil Leipzig, 1892 Most of Mańkowski's text is based upon a single imperfect manuscript The editor emends freely, sometimes judiciously, but often unsuccessfully On the whole more useful, because more complete and based on more manuscripts (whose variants are quoted), is the text found in the following edition of Ksemendra's complete work *The Bṛhatkathâmañjarî of Kshemendra* Edited by Mahâmahopâdyâya Pandit Śivadatta . and Kâshînâth Pândurang Parab Bombay, 1901. (Kāvyamālā 69) Pañcatantra on pp 561ff I have collated the text of the Pañcatantra in both these editions.

five stories which were not found in the original [18] All of these interpolated stories are found in Tantrākhyāyika β, one of them in no other version used by me, and another nowhere else at the same place, while none of the five occurs outside of Tantrākhyāyika and the Jain versions (which latter, as we shall see, used the same secondary archetype as Tantr) These facts seem to justify us in believing with Hertel that if Ksemendra's principal archetype was the northwestern Brhatkathā, he must have used also a manuscript of Tantrākhyāyika For this reason other agreements between Ksemendra and Tantrākhyāyika cannot be considered as evidence bearing on the original As a matter of fact Ksemendra's text is so mangled by abbreviation that he gives us comparatively little help in reconstructing even the general sense of the original, and he seldom preserves any of the original words, from whatever source He includes, to be sure, all the stories of the original except the Introduction and I 3, being thus more complete than Somadeva, but as the stories lacking in Somadeva may have been taken by Ksemendra from the Tantrākhyāyika, we cannot assume that they occurred in the supposed northwestern Brhatkathā And in spite of this relative completeness of his materials, the major part of the prose narrative of the original (I estimate, fully fifty-five percent) and nearly all the original verses (close to ninety percent) are omitted without trace in Ksemendra In short, the stories are cut to the bone (to the great detriment of the result, artistically speaking) Yet, since Ksemendra contains some matter that Somadeva lacks, we cannot entirely neglect him, tho we must remember the possibility that such matter may have been taken from the Tantrākhyāyika

Secondary additions in Ksemendra, except the stories mentioned above, are practically non-existent

Somadeva (abbreviated So) [19]—In Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara the five books of the Pañcatantra are found separated from one

[18] These are I 7 (Blue Jackal), I 12 (Jackal outwits Camel and Lion), III 11 (Old Hansa), IV 1 (Punisht Onion-thief), and IV 3 (Potter as Warrior) IV 1 occurs elsewhere only in Tantr, and III 11 only in Tantr in the same place (in Pūrnabhadra in Book I)

[19] There are two editions of Somadeva's complete work (1) *Kathā Sarit Sāgara Die Märchensammlung des Somadeva* Herausgegeben von Hermann

another by extraneous materials In this respect Hertel[20] believes that Somadeva follows his original, the northwestern Bṛhatkathā His work is characterized by a graceful and attractive style, his stories are well-told, and while no words are wasted, they are seldom cut down so as to spoil the artistic workmanship of the narrative In both of these respects he contrasts favorably with Ksemendra Somadeva lacks five stories of the original, besides the Introduction To what extent these omissions go back to his supposed archetype, the northwestern Bṛhatkathā, cannot be determined with confidence[21] On the other hand he preserves considerably more than Ksemendra does of the bulk of the narrative He contains at least traces of about three-fifths of the original prose Of the original verses, of course, he gives

Brockhaus Leipzig (Part I, Books 1—5) 1839, (Part II, Books 6—8) 1862, (Part III, Books 9—18) 1866 (The last two parts = *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* II 5 and IV 5) The Pañcatantra is found on pages 111 ff of Part III (2) *The Kathâsaritsâgara of Somadevabhatta* Edited by Pandit Durgâprasâd and Kâśînâth Pândurang Parab Bombay, 1889 (Pañcatantra, according to Hertel, *Pañc* p 32, on pages 355 ff) 2nd ed., Bombay 1903 (Pañcatantra on pages 309 ff) I have compared thruout the texts of both Brockhaus and Durgāprasād and Parab (2nd ed) for the Pañcatantra section The variants are few and usually unimportant —The entire work of Somadeva has been translated into English *The Kathá Sarit Ságara or Ocean of the Streams of Story*, translated by C H Tawney, M A 2 vols Calcutta, 1880 and 1884 Pañcatantra on pp 27—43, 48—52, 64—75, 81—87, 90—91 of Vol 2

[20] See his monograph *Ein altindisches Narrenbuch*, Ber u d Verh. d kgl sachs Ges d Wiss, phil-hist Kl, 1912, Bd 64, Heft 1

[21] We have seen that Kṣemendra also lacks the Introduction and I 3 (Three Self-caused Mishaps), which therefore may be presumed to have been lacking in the northwestern Bṛhatkathā Besides these Somadeva omits I 4 (Crows and Serpent), II 4 (Deer's Former Captivity), and the two emboxt stories of Book V (Brahman builds Aircastles, and Barber who killed the Monks) Of these II. 4 is properly only an unessential incident in the frame-story of Book II, and may have been lost in the process of shortening, many such incidents of the original are lost in the Bṛhatkathā versions. This same story was dropt, obviously for the same reason as here suggested, by a late descendant of Pūrnabhadra; see Hertel, *Pañc.*, p 117 I 4 is particularly interesting because it forms the frame for I. 5 in the original, Somadeva preserves I 5 but not I 4, and is therefore exceptionally awkward in the way he fits I. 5 into the frame Hertel (Tantr. Einleitung zur Übersetzung p 42) assumes—too hastily, I think—that this omission goes back to Somadeva's original It *may* do so, but there is no possibility of telling.

us very much less (traces of a sixth to a fifth) In general he shows extraordinary fidelity to the sense of the original, in so far as he preserves it at all There are few changes, and almost no insertions Every story in Somadeva is (in my opinion) original, and almost every phrase gives us at least the sense of something original For this reason, in spite of his brevity, he is very useful for the reconstruction Moreover, there is no reason to suspect his text of being contaminated with an extraneous version, as Ksemendra s is

The Jain Versions ("Simplicior" and Pūrṇabhadra)

The so-called "textus simplicior" (abbreviated Spl) [22]—The name "textus simplicior" goes back to Kosegarten, the first editor of this version, and is kept for want of a better, since its author's name is unknown and the titles given in the manuscripts (Pañcākhyānaka, or Pañcākhyāna "also called Pañcatantra") are not sufficiently distinctive (the former is applied also to Pūrnabhadra's text) On the whole I agree with Hertel's opinion that the author was probably a Jain, tho not all his arguments (summarized *Pañc* p 72 f) seem to me effective, and the sum total of them is perhaps not absolutely compelling His date is put by Hertel between 900 and 1199 (the latter being the date of Pūrnabhadra, who used this text—or rather, I should say, its archetype) This version became very popular in western and central India, and, with other versions which are based on it largely or wholly, it has virtually crowded out all other Pañcatantra recensions in those regions I regret to say that the materials at my disposal for determining the text of Simplicior (as I shall call it for short) were less satis-

[22] The imperfect *editio princeps*, by Kosegarten (Bonn, 1848), has been supplanted by that publisht in the Bombay Sanskrit Series under the title *Panchatantra* (BSS I, Bombay 1868, edited by G Buhler, contains Books IV and V, BSS III, 1868, also by Buhler, Books II and III, BSS IV, 1869, edited by F Kielhorn, Introduction and Book I). This was not intended to be a critical scholarly edition, but merely a school textbook for beginners, it was apparently based on a single manuscript (see Kielhorn's statement quoted by Hertel, *ZDMG* 56. 298 f), and Hertel suspects that the authors corrected this manuscript from Kosegarten's edition No other edition can be used in a critical way at all, various prints by Hindu editors appear to be of little or no value For translations see Hertel, *Pañc*, p 75 f and p 101

factory than the materials for any other recension In addition to the editions referred to in note 22, I had only such scattered information about the readings of various manuscripts as is given in various places by Hertel, especially in the "Parallel Specimens" in Harvard Oriental Series 13 According to Hertel, the manuscripts fall into two groups or subrecensions, which he calls the H-class and the σ-class To the latter belongs the ms used by Buhler-Kielhorn, to the former those principally used by Kosegarten "Of the two classes, each at times excels the other in the greater originality of an occasional passage"[23] It is therefore certain that the text of Simplicior studied and quoted by me is imperfect A really critical edition of it would improve the readings in many places But whether these improvements in the text of Simplicior would *often* have any important bearing on the reconstruction of the original, I doubt For, in the first place, the Simplicior happens to be of less importance in reconstructing the original than, perhaps, any other text used by me And, in the second place, all its manuscripts appear to be sufficiently close to each other in their readings so that we may assume, on the theory of chances, that the coincidence of a *serious* divergence in their readings, with a passage in which Simplicior is of *serious* importance for the reconstruction, would be a rare one This thesis I have tested on the Parallel Specimens in *HOS* 13, and find that it holds good Not a single word of the original, as I reconstructed it without the use of any Simplicior text but Kielhorn-Buhler, had to be changed because of the readings of Simplicior manuscripts there quoted

General plan of Simplicior —Like the Hitopadeśa, this text handles the original rather freely It keeps the five books of the original, but makes considerable alterations in their contents To begin with, it makes all five of more nearly equal length In the original, Books IV and V are very short Simplicior makes them about as long as the others It transfers

[23] Hertel, *HOS* 12, p 13 This statement seems to me to be proved quite conclusively by the Parallel Specimens, *HOS* 13 As to the further statement, *op cit.* p 14, that "the text of the H-class seems to me, on the whole, to be the more original one", I have no means of verifying it It hardly seems demonstrated by the small amount of material at my disposal.

to Book IV several of the stories of Book III, and inserts several new stories in Book IV And most of its Book V is new Moreover, it makes Story V 2 of the original (The Barber who killed the Monks) the frame-story of Book V, and emboxes within it the frame-story of the original Book V (Brahman and Mongoose), altering it at the same time It also makes radical changes in the frame-stories of Books III and IV, so that they resemble the originals only in a general way The same is true of some of the emboxt stories of Simplicior And it adds a number of new stories in the first three books, as well as in the last two —On the immediate archetype of Simplicior, and its relation to the Tantrākhyāyika, see below, pages 31 ff, 36 f

Extent to which Simplicior preserves the original text.—In spite of these extensive alterations, Simplicior retains to a considerable extent not only the general sense of the original, but even its exact language It must be used with caution, but can by no means be neglected in the reconstruction Hertel says [24] "As for the single stories, he [the author of Simplicior] not only altered their wording throughout, but also their purport" It seems to me that this is a serious exaggeration In many individual prose sentences (not to mention stanzas) it preserves nearly, if not quite, the exact language of the original Many of the stories are told in a manner substantially as close to the original as in the other versions All that I should wish to say, as a general characterization, is that *on the whole* Simplicior is less faithful to the general sense of the original than any of the other versions previously dealt with, and that it is *on the whole* less faithful to the precise language of the original than any of the other mainly prosaic recensions I find that it is much less faithful in preserving the verses of the original than the prose (as to its general sense, at least) This is curious, since it is by no means averse to stanzas, it inserts an enormous number of unoriginal stanzas Yet it gives us only about one-third of the stanzas of the original, while it has at least the general sense of probably two-thirds of the original prose. It is noteworthy that its fidelity

[24] *HOS* 12, p. 11

to the original decreases as the work progresses Its innovations become more markt in the third, fourth, and fifth books It preserves the sense of probably four-fifths, or very nearly as much, of the original prose of Books I and II, while in the last three books the proportion sinks to not much more than one-half Infidelities to the original consist partly in omissions,[25] but more often, as regards the prose, in substitutions Many of these substitutions are undoubtedly deliberate, tho usually unsuccessful, attempts to improve the story But many others are doubtless due to mere carelessness or indifference

Of the stories which I believe to be original, Simplicior contains all but three,[26] and it contains a remote variant of one of these in a different position

Secondary additions in Simplicior —These have been perhaps sufficiently described already Most striking is the enormous number of inserted verses, despite the fact that Simplicior leaves out approximately two-thirds of the verses of the original. How many of these were composed by the author of Simplicior, or his immediate archetype, it is hard to say, undoubtedly many, and probably most of them were taken from other sources, not belonging to the Pañcatantra tradition Insertions in the prose text of the stories are also not rare, and sometimes very lengthy They exceed in importance those that are found in any other version used by me, except Pūrṇabhadra, which used Simplicior as a source

Pūrṇabhadra (abbreviated Pn) [27]—We are on much surer ground regarding the text of this, the second Jainistic recen-

[25] It is, therefore, again an exaggeration when Hertel says (*Pañc* p 70) "die Jaina-Rezensionen kurzen ihre Vorlage bzw Vorlagen nicht, sondern erweitern sie " This is doubtless true as a general proposition, but certainly not as an absolute rule It is, however, true, as Hertel says (l c), that Simplicior goes back to an approximately complete version of the work, not to an abbreviation such as the Southern Pañcatantra

[26] These are II 4 (Deer's Former Captivity, really only an incident in the frame-story of Book II, cf page 26, note 21), III 7 (Brahman, Thief and Ogre), and III 10 (Frogs ride Serpent) A remote variant of the last-named appears as Simplicior IV 1

[27] Edition *The Panchatantra* .. *in the Recension, called Panchakhyanaka* .. *of* .. *Purnabhadra* Critically edited .. by Dr Johannes Hertel. Cambridge, 1908 (Harvard Oriental Series 11) An introduction and critical apparatus

sion of the Pañcatantra, which has been shown by Hertel's researches to have been composed probably in the year 1199 A D by the Jain monk Pūrnabhadra The text of this version seems to be in very satisfactory shape, there is little doubt that as printed by Hertel it comes very close to the manuscript of the author The differences in the oldest manuscripts are, in Hertel's opinion, insignificant

General plan of Pūrnabhadra his two main sources, Tantrākhyāyika and Simplicior —It is quite clear that the most of Pūrnabhadra's text presents the aspect of a mosaic of the texts of the Tantrākhyāyika and Simplicior—or of texts closely resembling these two as we have them This much is sufficiently indicated by a glance at Hertel's Parallel Specimens in *HOS* vol 13, for they are quite typical of the most of the work It is perhaps even more strikingly proved by the fact, which I shall show below (page 71 f), that in a number of places the mosaic-work is done so unskillfully that we find in Pūrnabhadra two different versions of the same passage, one copied from the Tantrākhyāyika and the other from Simplicior (or from a closely similar source in each case) It appears that Pūrnabhadra kept before him copies of these two main sources, and for the most part literally followed one or the other, as seemed best to him As to general plan, Tantrākhyāyika and Simplicior differ little in Books I and II Their principal differences appear in Books III, IV, and V, and in these I think that Pūrnabhadra uniformly followed the general plan of his Simplicior archetype, which I call the "Ur-Simplicior" This "Ur-Simplicior" differed from our Simplicior text in one important respect. We have seen that the frame-story of Book III is wholly changed in our Simplicior, and that a number of the emboxt stories of Book III are transposed to Book IV In the "Ur-Simplicior," which Pūrnabhadra follows, apparently only part of this alteration had taken place The first part of the frame is altered, and the first emboxt story (Ass in Panther's, or Tiger's, Skin) transposed to Book IV But the later

to this volume appeared in HOS 12 (1912), and a companion volume of parallel specimens in HOS 13 (1912) A German translation entitled *Das Pañcatantram (textus ornatior)*, by Richard Schmidt, appeared at Leipzig (undated, publisht 1901)

part of the frame—the consultation of the owl king with his ministers—is retained substantially as in the original, and stories 6, 8, and 9 of the original Book III remain in Book III, and are not transposed to Book IV, as they are in our Simplicior That this is the case, and that Pūrnabhadra's superior originality as compared with our Simplicior is not due to his following the Tantrākhyāyika or any other version, seems to me to be made probable by the following facts First, Pūrṇabhadra agrees mainly with our Simplicior thruout Book IV, and differs from it most strikingly in the omission of just these three stories which originally belonged to Book III Secondly, and much more compellingly: in the entire text of the stories III 6 (Old Man, Young Wife and Thief), III 8 (Cuckold Carpenter), and in the latter part of III 9 (Mouse Maiden), Pūrnabhadra agrees almost word for word with the text of Simplicior (See my Critical Apparatus for the evidence) It is obvious that he must have got these entire stories (except the first part of III 9, in which he follows Tantrākhyāyika) from a Simplicior manuscript But he places the stories, not in the place to which all our manuscripts of Simplicior have transposed them, in Book IV, but in their original place, in Book III, where all other versions including Tantrākhyāyika have them It seems to me hardly likely that he would have done this if he had used our text of Simplicior Had he done so, he would probably have given these stories either in the *position* in which Simplicior has them, or in the *wording* in which Tantrākhyāyika has them I can scarcely think that he would have followed the order of Tantrākhyāyika, but gone to the fourth book of a version of Simplicior and extracted from it the language of the corresponding stories found there.[28]

[28] I differ in this regard from Hertel, who believes that Pūrnabhadra used manuscripts of both of the subrecensions of Simplicior, "H" and "σ", but not an older Simplicior text to which both go back The former proposition he bases on the fact that at times Pūrnabhadra agrees with each of the two subrecensions, in turn, in superior readings This would be adequately explained by the supposition which I make, that he used a text much older and more original than either subrecension The second proposition, which denies my assumption, he bases (HOS 12, p 14) on the circumstance that "in some places either the H-class or the σ-class is more original than Pūrnabhadra's text" He does not quote the passages which he has in mind

Except to this extent, Pūrnabhadra agrees quite closely with our Simplicior in Books III, IV, and V In Books I and II

But I would suggest that such cases are doubtless due to secondary and independent variations made by Pūrnabhadra himself Of such there is no lack Or, some of them may be due to Pūrnabhadra's use of another version than Simplicior—whether Tantrākhyāyika, or some other From such outside sources, which we know he used, he may at times have borrowed readings that are secondary in comparison with either Simplicior subrecension, or both

It may be of interest to note here that there are some later Hindu versions of the Pañcatantra, based mainly on Simplicior or Pūrṇabhadra or both, which are closer to the original Pañcatantra than either of them in one respect, at least, namely, that the story of the Ass in the Panther's (or Tiger's) Skin appears in its original place, as the first emboxt story of Book III, and is not transferred to Book IV as in both Simplicior and Pūrnabhadra (Some of these versions repeat the story in Book IV, where Simplicior and Pūrnabhadra have it) Among these versions are the manuscript "E" (Hertel, *Pañc*, p 104), Ratnasundara's Kathākallola (*op cit* p 172 ff), Vaccharāja's Pañcākhyāna Caupaī (*op cit* p 199 ff), and Meghavijaya's Pañcākhyānoddhāra (*op cit* p 105 ff) This might seem to suggest that they used a still older form of the Simplicior than the one used by Pūrnabhadra, and that in the Simplicior used by them even the *first* part of Book III was retained essentially in its original form Unfortunately the data furnisht by Hertel (which are all that I have to judge by) are not sufficient to make it possible to decide this question definitely But such information as he furnishes is not favorable to that assumption On the contrary, it seems to indicate that these late recensions got their version of the story of the Ass in the Panther's Skin directly or indirectly from a different recension, not belonging to the Simplicior tradition at all In one case this different recension was certainly the Tantrākhyāyika, and it was perhaps the same in the case of the others Namely the text of this particular story as found in the manuscript "E" is quoted by Hertel, *ZDMG* 56 317 f Now it happens that this particular story is told in very different terms in the several Pañc versions (see my Critical Apparatus). Notably the Jain versions (Simplicior and Pūrnabhadra), tho agreeing very closely with each other, are *very* different from Tantrākhyāyika But the manuscript "E" agrees so closely with the Tantrākhyāyika (in spite of verbal variations) that there can be no doubt that it got its text from the latter, as Hertel suggests (The other Sanskrit texts are sufficiently different to prove that they could not have been concerned) It will be obvious to anyone who cares to examine the text of "E," in comparison with the readings of the versions quoted in my Critical Apparatus, that "E", tho its primary sources are Simplicior and Pūrṇabhadra, interpolated this particular story from a Tantrākhyāyika manuscript, directly or indirectly On the catch-verse of the story in "E," see the next paragraph but one

he tends perhaps rather to agree with the general plan of Tantrākhyāyika than with our Simplicior (but the differences

As to the other late versions referred to, the only one whose version of this story is furnisht by Hertel is that of Meghavijaya (partial text and complete analysis in *ZDMG* 57 639ff) According to Hertel, Meghavijaya used as his source a version which depended on Vaccharāja, and the latter in turn was dependent on Ratnasundara If this is the case, Ratnasundara's version of the story of the Ass in the Panther's (or Tiger's) Skin would presumably decide the question of the ultimate origin of the story as found in these three recensions Hertel does not quote either Ratnasundara's or Vaccharāja's text of the story, and Meghavijaya's text is a drastic abbreviation, consisting of only a few lines It is not enuf like any of the older versions to make it possible to decide its origin It does, indeed speak of a tiger's (*vyāghra-*) skin, rather than a panther's (*dvīpi-*), agreeing to that extent with Simplicior and Pūrnabhadra, but in this respect its prose story may have been influenst by the catch-verse, and, as I am about to show, this would not decide the question

The catch-verse in these four late versions needs more careful consideration In the ms "E" it reads

> suciram hi caran nityam śreyah sasyam abuddhimān
> vyāghracarmapraticchanno vākkṛte rāsabho hataḥ

In Meghavijaya it reads exactly in the same way but for the following variations all of which, there is reason to believe, are secondary, and some of which are obvious corruptions· b, *śreṣṭham śasyam sa* (!) *buddhimān*, c, °*pratipanno*, d, *vyākrte* (!) The verse as given by Ratnasundara and Vaccharāja is not quoted in full by Hertel, but he tells us (*Pañc* p 201) that they are like Meghavijaya in having the corruptions *sasyam* (or *śa°*) *sa buddhimān*, and *vyākkrte* (or *vyākrte*) It appears that we may safely assume that all four of these recensions have the catch-verse essentially as in "E."

Let us examine the catch-verse in the older Sanskrit recensions The Tantrākhyāyika has this form

> suciram hi caran nityam grīṣme sasyam abuddhimān
> dvīpicarmapraticchanno vākkṛtād rāsabho hatah

The Southern Pañcatantra agrees except for °*parichanno* in c and *vāgdoṣād* in d The Nepalese text and the Hitopadeśa agree with Southern Pañcatantra but also read *śreyah* (Hit Muller *ksetre*) for *grīsme*, and *śasyam* (N corrupt) for *sa°*, and *gardabho* for *rāsabho* The Jain versions (Simplicior and Pūrnabhadra), however, have a wholly different first half verse.

> suguptam rakṣyamāno 'pi darśayan dārunam vapuḥ

In the second half verse they agree with Tantrākhyāyika except that they read *vyāghra°* for *dvīpi°*, and *vākkrte.* Consistently with the former change, they speak in the following prose story of a tiger's skin, not a panther's skin. All the other versions make it a panther's (*dvīpi-*) skin,

in these books are not very great, and possibly the Simplicior text which he used may have been more like Tantrākhyāyika.

except Southern Pañcatantra and Hitopadeśa, the former of which once, and the latter regularly, also make it a tiger's skin in the prose story, tho reading *dvīpi*° in the catch-verse (did they take *dvīpi-* in the sense of "tiger," a sense attributed to it in Hindu lexicons? SP in the prose elsewhere uses *dvīpi-*!)

From these facts it seems clear that (1) The ms "E," whose prose text follows Tantrākhyāyika exclusively (and—NB—always has *dvīpi*°, not *vyāghra*°), has a contaminated form of the verse, in which the first half agrees with the older versions including Tantr (except that it agrees with Nep and Hit in *śreyah* for *grīsme*, an interesting but probably secondary agreement, since Southern Pañc, the nearest relative of Nep and Hit, agrees with Tantr, indicating that Nep and Hit go back to a version which had this reading), but in the second half "E" agrees with Simplicior and Pūrnabhadra We must remember that the catch-verse to this favorite and widespread fable was doubtless a familiar proverb, and that slight variations in it may mean only that a particular redactor had heard a different version quoted orally So the variations in the second half *may* be explained,—and even the inconsistency *(vyāghra dvīpi)* between the verse and the prose fable has a parallel in the Hitopadeśa But the difference in the first half is too markt to be accidental This first half must certainly have been drawn by "E"'s source from a text close to the Tantrākhyāyika —and not from the Jain versions That is, the first half verse was doubtless taken from the same source from which "E" drew the prose text of the fable (The agreement with Nep and Hit in reading *śreyah* is, as I said, doubtless an accidental coincidence, "E"'s prose text, at least, shows no relation at all to the SP-Nep-Hit group of versions) The second half it may have contaminated from the Jain versions which were its principal sources

(2) But the more important point is this From Hertel's statements, Ratnasundara, Vaccharāja, and Meghavijaya present practically the same form of the catch-verse—in both halves—that "E" does It seems not overbold to guess that they have a common source And if they have a common source for the catch-verse, it would not be strange if they had a common source for the prose text too But, as we have seen, the prose text of "E" unquestionably goes back, directly or indirectly, to an interpolation from the Tantrākhyāyika This is evidently the reason for the position of the story in "E," as Story 1 of Book III, instead of in Book IV where Simplicior and Pūrnabhadra have it Since Ratnasundara etc have the story in the same position, may we not provisionally guess that the same circumstance has the same explanation, and that these versions too go back directly or indirectly to the Tantrākhyāyika in this story? Of course, this can only be a provisional hypothesis But at least there is at present no reason for supposing that these versions point to a form of the

cf the preceding paragraph), while including most of the interpolated stories of both Tantrākhyāyika and Simplicior and a goodly number of others

The "Ur-Tantrākhyāyika," source of the "Ur-Simplicior" and the Tantrākhyāyika.—These two principal sources of Pūrnabhadra appear to go back directly to a common archetype, which I call for convenience the "Ur-Tantrākhyāyika" It differed from the original Pañcatantra in having at least three[29] interpolated stories, and an uncertain number of minor expansions and additions of both prose and verses Whether it also contained omissions is necessarily uncertain, since even when such are found in common in Tantrākhyāyika and the Jain versions, we cannot be sure that they have not occurred independently In any case they were few in number —That the Tantrākhyāyika and the "Ur-Simplicior" are sister-versions, and that neither was derived directly from the other, seems

"Ur-Simplicior" in which the transposition of the story to Book IV had not yet taken place

On page 189 of Hertel's *Pañcatantra* he mentions another point in which Ratnasundara agrees with Tantrākhyāyika, but he there expresses the opinion that the agreement is not due to borrowing, and states that he has found no traces of the use of Tantrākhyāyika by Ratnasundara This opinion deserves weight, and makes me more hesitant regarding the suggestion made above Yet it can of course not be regarded as final Only the text of Ratnasundara's story can decide the matter It is unfortunate that Hertel failed to present it

[29] Tantrākhyāyika I 8 (Blue Jackal), I. 13 (Jackal outwits Camel and Lion), II 4 (Weaver Somilaka) These occur only in Tantr, Simpl, Pūrn. and (the first two) in Kṣemendra, which doubtless borrowed them from the Tantrākhyāyika (see page 25). There are good reasons for denying that any of them belonged to the original Pañcatantra I believe that the "Ur-Tantrākhyāyika" also contained III 11 of Tantr. β (Appendix 3 in edition. Fox and Talking Cave), IV 3 of Tantr β (Appendix 4 in edition. Potter as Warrior), and perhaps III. 11 (Old Hansa) None of these are found in Tantrākhyāyika α, but this does not prove them late, since α omitted also the original story of the Old Man, Young Wife and Thief (β III 6, edition Appendix 2) The first two are found in the same place in the Jain versions, the last in Pūrnabhadra in a different place. None of the three occur in any other version except (the last two) in Ksemendra —It is very possible that the "Ur-Tantrākhyāyika' contained still other secondary stories, the lack of any particular story in either our Tantrākhyāyika or one or both Jain versions may be due to omission

indicated by the fact that each preserves features of the original which the other lacks. This might, to be sure, be explained by the hypothesis that one or the other is a contaminated version, like Pūrnabhadra. That is just what Hertel does assume in his "genealogical table" of Pañcatantra versions, namely, he regards Simplicior as a contamination of Tantrākhyāyika with another recension. I see no basis for this opinion and consider it most improbable. Hertel has, in fact, made no attempt to prove it, so far as I have been able to discover.

Pūrnabhadra's other source or sources.—But Pūrnabhadra seems to have used still other Pañcatantra versions, or at least one other, not closely related to either Tantrākhyāyika or Simplicior. For we find that Pūrnabhadra has a number of features of the original in common with other versions—the Southern Pañcatantra, the Pahlavi, or the Bṛhatkathā versions—which are lacking, or are replaced by different features, in both Tantrākhyāyika and Simplicior. In some such cases we even find Tantrākhyāyika and Simplicior agreeing in a secondary trait, against Pūrnabhadra and other versions. We may assume in such cases that Tantrākhyāyika and Simplicior found these secondary alterations in their common archetype, the "Ur-Tantrākhyāyika." If so, apparently Pūrnabhadra must have derived his more original readings from a different source. What was that source, or were there several such? We can only vaguely guess. There seems to be no sufficient reason to suppose that Pūrṇabhadra used any of the other versions which we now possess, such as the Southern Pañcatantra or the Bṛhatkathā versions, nor their immediate archetypes, such as the Sanskrit original of the Pahlavi. For his occasional agreements with them are not favorable to such an assumption. They are usually features which seem to have pertained to the original Pañcatantra. In a few cases they may be merely due to some accident (*e g* the occasional independent insertion of a stanza familiar to different redactors as a "geflugeltes Wort," or a similar twist which happens to have been given independently to a prose passage). When one text has used another, or when both go back to a secondary archetype, it is usually quite easy to detect the fact, from unmistakable

evidence (*Cf* p 49 ff) Such evidence consists in extensive and markt agreements in *secondary* matters, that is in features which clearly depart from the original Pañcatantra Evidence of this kind exists to establish the interdependence of Tantrākhyāyika, Simplicior, and Pūrnabhadra, and of the Southern Pañcatantra, Nepalese Pañcatantra, and Hitopadeśa, and the dependence of Ksemendra on Tantrākhyāyika We do not find evidence of such relations between Pūrnabhadra and any known version except Simplicior and Tantrākhyāyika We must therefore provisionally assume that Pūrnabhadra had no closer relations to any other known version But since he shows a number of original features at points where Tantrākhyāyika and Simplicior agree on unoriginal ones, it seems to follow that he probably used some independent offshoot of the original which is inaccessible to us He may even have used more than one such, for aught we can tell But it seems not humanly probable that he used many more than the three versions which we have now assumed as his sources,—simply because to do so would have given him more trouble than a Hindu redactor is likely to have taken

Value of Pūrnabhadra for the reconstruction.—While Pūrṇabhadra was, therefore, a contaminated version, this does not mean that his text cannot be used for the reconstruction On the contrary, it is extremely useful To be sure, we need to remember his dependence on Tantrākhyāyika and Simplicior, which means that agreements between these texts prove nothing for the original On the other hand, however, we have seen that there is reason to believe that he used not our Simplicior, but an older "Ur-Simplicior;" so that we can improve on our text of Simplicior by reference to Pūrnabhadra The same seems to be true, only in a less degree, of his relations to Tantrākhyāyika, the Tantrākhyāyika text which he used was at least better than our Tantrākhyāyika manuscripts in many details, so that Hertel occasionally emends Tantrākhyāyika's text on the basis of Pūrnabhadra's readings (and might with profit have done so more frequently, I think) But it is when Pūrnabhadra agrees with other versions against Tantrākhyāyika and Simplicior that his value is greatest. For in such cases the general presumption is that he has used his third, to us

unknown, source, and that such agreements establish the text of the original Pañcatantra

Extent to which Pūrnabhadra preserves the original text —I estimate that Pūrnabhadra preserves—from one source or another—at least the general sense of not far from ninety percent of the prose text of the original, and seventy percent of the verses The reason for the much poorer preservation of the verses is that Pūrnabhadra follows Simplicior to such a considerable extent, Simplicior, as we have seen, preserves only a minority of the original verses The exact language of the original is preserved in Pūrnabhadra perhaps more extensively than in any other version except Tantrākhyāyika, but this is largely due to the fact that Pūrnabhadra follows Tantrākhyāyika so extensively However, it should be remembered that even in sections where Pūrnabhadra appears to depend on Tantrākhyāyika, his text is often superior to our Tantrākhyāyika manuscripts, presumably because he used a much older and more perfect manuscript than any that we have — Every story of the original is preserved in Pūrnabhadra, and all are in the order of the original except Story III 1, which is transposed to Book IV following Simplicior, and the stories of Book V, which are also arranged as in Simplicior

Secondary additions in Pūrnabhadra —These are more numerous and extensive than in any other version used by me They include, to begin with, nearly all the inserted stories found in both Tantrākhyāyika and Simplicior, and a considerable number of others that are found in neither of these, his two principal sources They also include very many, and frequently very long, additions and expansions, both prose and verses Many of these are taken from Pūrnabhadra's several sources, but not a few seem to be original with him Pūrnabhadra's text is not only synthetic but rationalizing His aim is to improve on his sources When he notes a feature which he thinks needs improvement, his general tendency is not to leave it out, but to add something which will satisfy his sense of what is fitting An interesting instance is the way he handles Tantrākhyāyika's allusion to the tale of the "Butter-blind Brahman," see page 177

THE PAHLAVI AND ITS DESCENDANTS

The Pahlavi translation (abbreviated Pa) —A Persian physician named Burzōe (also spelled Burzuyeh, and in other ways), living under the patronage of King Chosrau Anōsharwan (these names are also variously spelled, his dates are given as 531—579 A D), made a translation into Pahlavi of a number of Indian stories of various provenance, the chief of which was a version of the Pañcatantra He seems to have given to his entire work the name "Karataka and Damanaka" (to use the Sanskrit forms of the names), after the two jackals who play such an important rôle in the first book of the Pañcatantra We need not concern ourselves with the parts of the work which were drawn from other sources, such as the Mahabhārata It appears that, for some reason or other, Burzōe's translation did not include the Introduction to the Pañcatantra Otherwise it included the entire Pañcatantra except for three stories that seem to have been omitted (II 4, Deer's Former Captivity, III 1, Ass in Panther's Skin, and V 2, Barber who killed the Monks) It transposed the story of the Three Fish (I 11 of the original), making it the seventh story of Book I. It also contained one story not found in the original, namely the Treacherous Bawd (I 3c of the Pahlavi) [30] Otherwise the Pañcatantra is preserved in a way which shows that the Sanskrit text which the translator used was an extremely ancient one (which is indeed indicated by the date of the translation), and was very close to the original in most details as well as in the general sense of the stories (I refer to it as the "Ur-Pa") It suffered, of course, in the translation. Hertel is very severe on the translator, whom he accuses of

[30] This story appears in Tantrākhyāyika α, as III 5, in a different place from the Pahlavi, and quite differently told It is undoubtedly a secondary interpolation made independently in both places, nevertheless the Pahlavi translator may well have found it at the place where he has it in the Sanskrit version which he used This is not disproved by Hertel's argument *ZDMG* 69 116f, for the Sanskrit catch-verse to Story I. 3 may easily have been so rewritten as to include a reference to this as well as to the other "selbstverschuldete Unfalle" The secondary character of the story is proved not by this, but by the fact that all Sanskrit versions agree in *not* having the story at this point

rank ignorance of Sanskrit We must remember, however, that we do not possess the Pahlavi itself, but only secondary and tertiary offshoots It is true that they present the original text often in a very distorted form But it is certain that many of the distortions are due to later retranslators This can be seen by comparing the Old Syriac with the Arabic and its descendants, frequently one or the other comes quite close to the original Sanskrit while its rivals are very remote and secondary If we had even the original Pahlavi, not to mention the Sanskrit on which it was based, I think we should probably have a closer approach to the original Pañcatantra than we now possess (allowing, of course, for the change of language) Only the order, especially of the verses, and to some extent of the prose sentences and paragraphs, of the original, seems to have become confused even in the Pahlavi (tho in this respect too its descendants have made the confusion considerably greater) It may be added that the same is true of every Sanskrit version we have, tho usually not to a like degree; and that therefore there is no reason to doubt that at least a part of this confusion in order goes back to Ur-Pa, the Sanskrit archetype of the Pahlavi

Immediate offshoots of the Pahlavi.—Unhappily the Pahlavi translation is lost, along with its Sanskrit original We have to rely for our knowledge of this extremely important stream of Pañcatantra tradition on its offshoots Probably the most important of these is the Old Syriac (abbreviated Sy), made by a certain Būd, apparently about 570 A D[31] Tho known

[31] First edited and translated by G Bickell, with an introduction by Theodor Benfey (Leipzig, 1876) This translation was a very creditable work in its day, and occasionally is useful even now as a check on the following, which has in general superseded it *Kalila und Dimna Syrisch und Deutsch* Von Friedrich Schulthess Berlin, 1911 The translation of Schulthess has valuable critical and comparative notes, with additions by Hertel, and with marginal references to the Tantrākhyāyika (and occasionally other Sanskrit versions) added by the same scholar It is thus made convenient for referring to the Sanskrit Unfortunately Schulthess has been too much influenst, occasionally, by the impression derived from Hertel, that the Tantrākhyāyika is the original Pañcatantra. An instance in which this impression has led him into a false emendation of his text, as it seems to me, is shown in his handling of vs 72 of Kapitel 6 (our reconstruction III vs 99), see my Critical

only from copies of a single corrupt and fragmentary manuscript, it contains nearly the whole of the Pañcatantra text as found in the Pahlavi (there are only two or three lacunae of consequence, due to defects in the unique manuscript)

The Pahlavi was also translated into Arabic by 'Abdallah ibn al-Moqaffa' about 750 A D, under the title "Kalilah and Dimnah" According to information kindly furnisht me by Professor M Sprengling of the University of Chicago, we learn from Arabic tradition that at least one—possibly several—other translations of the Pahlavi into Arabic were made, these are not recorded in Hertel's *Pañcatantra*.[32] The work became very popular in Arabic literature and there are now in existence numerous manuscripts and a number of printed texts of it. These differ very widely from one another Equally wide differences are found in the numerous translations and retranslations from the Arabic to which reference will be made presently It is not yet known to what extent these differences are due to editing or to secondary changes in Abdallah's text and in translations thereof, and to what extent they may be due to the influence of different translations from the Pahlavi It is presumed that most of the Arabic manuscripts and editions, and the translations therefrom, represent on the whole various revisions of Abdallah's work For our purposes this difficult problem is of little importance For we can be certain that all Arabic texts and offshoots, in so far as they contain matter that represents the original Pañcatantra, obtained that matter directly or indirectly from the Pahlavi translation; and it makes little difference to us whether they derived it from Abdallah's translation or from some other Arabic rendering of the Pahlavi. I use the term "Arabic" to denote collectively all Arabic texts and descendants so far as they are accessible

Apparatus on this verse Here Bickell seems to me to have been nearer the truth And this in not an isolated instance.

[32] Professor Sprengling refers for his authority to Hadji Khalfa's *Bibliographical Dictionary* under "Calila et Dimna," and to an-Nâdim's *Fihrist*, p 305, l 14f Hadji Khalfa names as a second translator of the work from Pahlavi into Arabic 'Abdallah ibn Hilâl [elsewhere called ibn 'Alî] al-Ahwâzî, and dates his work A H 165 = A D. 781/2 Little is known of this man, and his alleged work is not definitely known to exist now

to me (see below), without meaning to imply any theory as to their relation to Abdallah's translation or any others Understood in this sense, the Arabic is a more complete representative of the Pahlavi than the Old Syriac Nevertheless, the Old Syriac contains some details which are omitted in all texts and translations derived from the Arabic that are known to me [33]

Offshoots of the Pahlavi thru the Arabic —The Old Syriac version of the Pahlavi has left no known descendants But Arabic versions were translated and retranslated repeatedly in very early times In default of a critical edition and translation of any Arabic version itself, these early offshoots are of great importance in establishing the sense of the Pahlavi I shall make no attempt to enumerate them, they are fully described in the eleventh chapter of Hertel's *Pañcatantra* Here I shall mention only a few of the more important ones, chiefly such as I have used in the work of reconstruction

Perhaps the oldest is a second Syriac version made in the tenth or eleventh century, which has been made accessible in an English translation by Keith-Falconer (*Kalilah and Dimnah or the Fables of Bidpai*, Cambridge, 1885) In the eleventh century a Greek version entitled Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης was made by one Symeon Seth, from it were made Latin, German, and Slavonic versions In the twelfth century one Nasrallāh translated the Arabic into Persian, his work served as a basis for a later and better-known Persian version, the Anwāri Suhailī (called in English ' Lights of Canopus"), which has

[33] The first edition of any Arabic text was that by Sylvestre de Sacy, *Calila et Dimna ou fables de Bidpai*, Paris, 1816 This is said to be a composite and imperfect text, containing a contamination of several subrecensions It has been translated into English (Knatchbull, Oxford, 1819, reprinted at Cairo, 1905, a very loose and poor rendering), German (Wolff, Stuttgart, 1837, 2nd ed 1839, a good rendering, also Holmboe and Hansen, Christiania, 1832), French, Danish, and Russian It is said by Arabists that the best text yet printed is that of L Cheikho (Beyrouth, 1905), which is based on a single old manuscript, but this text is also imperfect, and needs to be supplemented by others Another well-known edition is that of Khalil al-Jazidjî, which is not rated highly by Arabic scholars A critical edition of the Arabic, based on a thoro study of all available materials, is now being undertaken by Professor Sprengling of the University of Chicago

been repeatedly translated into many languages of Europe and Asia (English by Eastwick, Hertford 1854, and by Wollaston, 1877, 2nd ed 1894) The Arabic was rendered into Spanish by an unknown author about 1251, this is a very valuable version,[34] which rests on an Arabic text closely related to that used by Rabbi Joel in his Hebrew rendering This latter was composed in the twelfth century, and has been edited with a French translation by J Derenbourg, Paris 1881; Bibl de l'éc des hautes ét 49 (this volume also contains an edition, by Derenbourg, but no translation, of a later Hebrew translation from the Arabic, made by Jacob ben Eleazer in the thirteenth century) Our text of Joel is unhappily fragmentary, the entire first book is lost We have however the complete text of a Latin rendering of Joel, made by John of Capua between 1263 and 1278, which was printed twice about 1480 and exists also in manuscripts of about the same age One of the early printed texts has been reprinted with valuable notes by J Derenbourg (Bibl de l'éc des hautes ét 72, Paris, 1887) The Latin of John of Capua became famous in the Middle Ages, and was rendered into Spanish, into German (*Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen*, by Anthonius von Pfor or Pforr, publisht about 1480, an extremely popular work in medieval Europe), and into Italian (by one Doni, printed 1552). This Italian version was the basis of the earliest English descendant of the Pañcatantra, by Sir Thomas North (*The Morall Philosophie of Doni*, London, 1570; reprinted 1601, and lately reprinted again by Joseph Jacobs, London, 1888)

Use made of the Pahlavi versions in the present work.—Generally speaking a clear agreement in sense between *any* descendant of the Pahlavi and *any* of the Sanskrit versions raises a strong presumption that we are dealing with a feature of the original Pañcatantra, since there is no evidence of any secondary

[34] Hertel mentions only the edition of Clifford G. Allen, Macon (France), 1906 According to Solalinde an earlier edition by Gayangos appeared at Madrid in 1860 The edition used by me is that of Antonio G Solalinde· *Calila y Dimna Fábulas, Antigua version Castellana*, Madrid, 1917, it is based, according to the editor, primarily on the editions of Allen and of Alemany (Madrid, 1915)

agreements between the Pahlavi and any Sanskrit version [35] The number of purely accidental coincidences must in the nature of things be limited In default of the Pahlavi text, the ideal desideratum for use in such comparisons would be careful collations of both the Old Syriac and the Arabic texts Schulthess's edition of the Old Syriac, supplemented by his notes and by Bickell's edition, gives us all the material that can be hoped for on that subject Unfortunately we are not so well off as to the Arabic Of course no single Arabic version can be used alone However, my friend and former associate, Dr W N Brown, has prepared a rendering of Books II and IV of the Pañcatantra in their Arabic guise which I believe approaches our requirements It is primarily a rendering of Cheikho's text (see page 43, note 33), but with indications in the notes of all possibly important variants in certain other Arabic editions (especially Khalil's) and in the principal offshoots of the Arabic It thus contains, we may be fairly sure, all evidence for the reconstruction which could probably be extracted from any of the known Arabic texts and descendants thereof Brown's rendering of the Arabic for Pañc Book II has appeared in *JAOS* 42 215—250 His Book IV is not yet publisht, but he has kindly allowed me to use it and quote from it in manuscript For the other three books (Pañcatantra I, III, and V) I have been forced to rely almost exclusively on older and less scientific translations, since my knowledge of Arabic is not sufficient to make possible an independent use of Arabic editions I have relied principally on the Old Spanish (ed. Solalinde), the Younger Syriac as translated by Keith-Falconer, the Latin of John of Capua and its original, Joel's Hebrew (so far as extant), and Wolff's German translation (2nd ed) of the Arabic as edited by De Sacy. Occasionally I have used Symeon Seth's Greek (which is less valuable for comparative purposes because much freer than the versions named above), and the Anwāri Suhaili in Eastwick's English translation

Extent to which the Pahlavi preserves the original text.—In estimating the value of the Pahlavi's evidence as to the original

[35] See Chapter V for Hertel's attempts to prove such, and my reasons for disagreeing with him Cf also page 49 ff on general methods of fixing the original

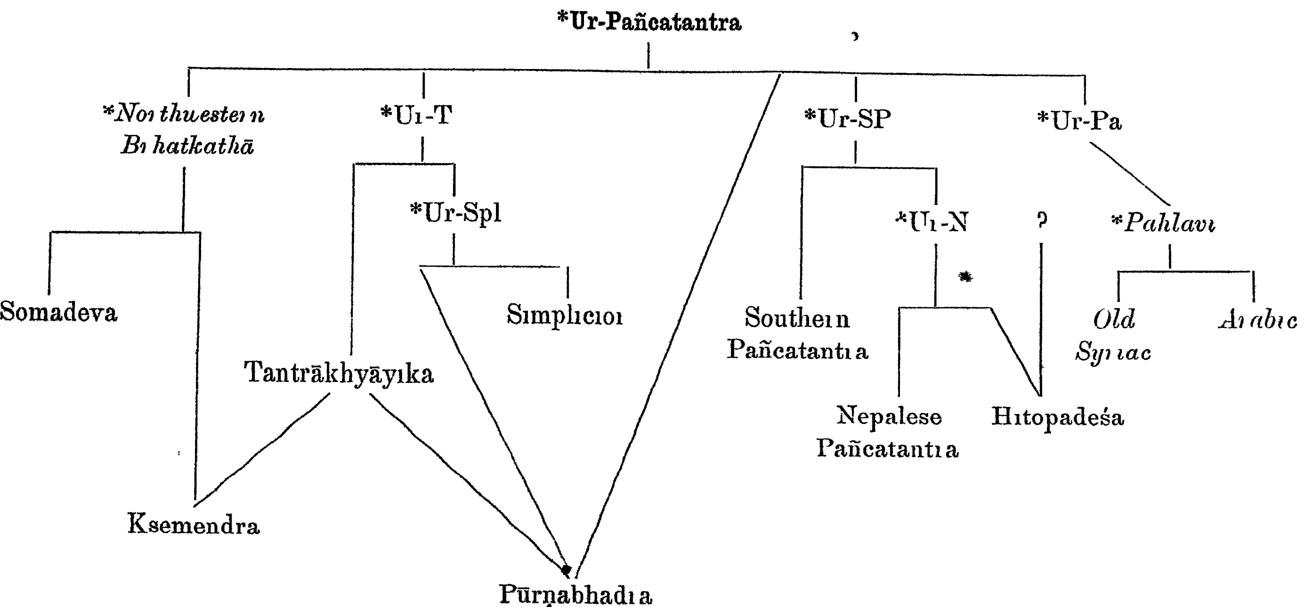
text, we must bear in mind the allowances that have to be made for translation and retranslation and re-retranslation. From the Pahlavi versions alone we cannot often hope to infer the precise language of the original Sanskrit The most we can hope, in general, is that they will show us that something approximately similar to a particular verse or prose sentence was contained in their Sanskrit archetype They show us that, to an extent which we must acknowledge with deep gratitude I find evidence that at least some parts of fully eighty percent of the original prose sentences, and that more than seventy percent of the original verses, were found in the Pahlavi (The percentages in either the Syriac or the Arabic alone would be somewhat lower; they would be lower in the Syriac than in the Arabic) The reason for the smaller percentage of verses preserved is doubtless in part the greater difficulty of the language of the Sanskrit verses, which made successful translation harder, and in part the fact that the sententious verses could more easily drop out without leaving an appreciable gap The accuracy and completeness of the translation varies greatly in different parts of the work, as well as in the different versions Often it is so close that it could pass for an almost word-for-word rendering of the original Sanskrit, as indicated by the extant Sanskrit versions On the whole I can say that I am honestly surprised at the frequency of such cases, in one Pahlavi version or another

I have already mentioned the fact that the Pahlavi omits only three emboxt stories of the original, besides the Introduction. All other stories are preserved in both Old Syriac and Arabic, except that a defect in the manuscript of the Syriac leaves us, quite accidentally, without its version of Story I. 2 (Jackal and Drum)

Secondary additions in the Pahlavi.—These are few in the sections paralleling the Pañcatantra In this respect the Pahlavi rivals the Southern Pañcatantra as a faithful reflex of the original, and far surpasses Tantrākhyāyika and the Jain versions. It is distinctly surpast only by Somadeva We have seen that it includes only one unoriginal story (I. 3c, Treacherous Bawd). It includes also a small number of verses (that is, of passages which obviously represent sententious verses of the Sanskrit;

for the Pahlavi renderings are of course in prose) which at least appear in no Sanskrit version, and most of which were therefore probably not in the original Pañcatantra It doubtless contained likewise a number of prose insertions and expansions But it is harder to judge of this point, because most of the existing Pahlavi versions show a strong tendency to expand on their own account Expansions common to the Old Syriac and the Arabic are not very numerous, and it is only these which we can with confidence attribute to the Pahlavi

TABLE
SHOWING *INTERRELATIONS OF OLDER PANCHATANTRA VERSIONS



*Indicates hypothetical versions *Italics* indicate translations into other languages than Sanskrit

CHAPTER III

METHODS EMPLOYED IN THE RECONSTRUCTION

Purpose of this chapter.—In this chapter I shall present a statement of the methods which I have workt out for establishing the text of the original Pañcatantra, positively and negatively, together with a brief statement of the reasons why we may be confident that there really *was* an original Pañcatantra,—that we are not chasing a will-o-the-wisp. Detailed illustrations will be furnisht in later chapters. Since nothing can be decided finally about the original until we are sure what versions are secondarily interrelated, I shall first take up the methods by which we may hope to decide that question.

Three ways of proving secondary interrelationship.—By "secondary interrelationship" between two versions, I mean descent, in whole or in part, from a common archetype later than the original Pañcatantra, and secondary in comparison with it. There are not more than three ways in which such descent can be proved, in my opinion, and of these I regard only the first two as entirely conclusive. A combination of the first two is desirable; and it is indeed a fact that these two generally go together, more or less, tho either may be in individual instances more important than the other. The three methods are:

1. Proof that the versions in question agree in showing a not inconsiderable number of *important and striking features* which cannot reasonably be supposed to have belonged to the original Pañcatantra, nor to have been added independently in the same place in the several versions where they occur. Secondarily inserted *stories* are the best, and almost the only conclusive, sort of evidence that can be considered under this head. For in the case of a stanza, or a minor motive

feature in a story, appearing in several versions, it is easier as a rule to suppose either that it belonged to the original, or that it was added independently in more than one version. It is much harder to suppose that two redactors should, by mere chance and independently of each other, have added the same *story* at the same place in the text, unless indeed the original text contained a definite reference to the story in question In actual fact no such case occurs in the Pañcatantra There is no instance, in my opinion, of the insertion of a secondary story at the same place (this qualification is important) in independent versions At the same time it is usually easy to find grounds for doubting the originality of stories that have been secondarily inserted —By this method I think it is possible to prove the interrelationship of *e g* Tantrākhyāyika and the Jain versions, and of Tantrākhyāyika and Ksemendra, which have a number of secondary stories in common, occurring at the same points in the text

2 Proof of *constant and far-reaching* agreements in minor verbal details between the versions in question Such agreements, to prove the point, must be so regular as to be overwhelming in their force, and must include a goodly number of passages in which comparison with other versions warrants us in assuming that they do not go back to the original Pañcatantra —By this method I think we can prove the secondary connections of, *e g*, the Southern Pañcatantra, Nepalese Pañcatantra, and Hitopadeśa, also of Tantrākhyāyika and Pūrnabhadra

3 Less reliable is the third method of proof, namely, proof that the versions in question are parts of some larger whole, and that said larger whole is of common origin This is the case, among the versions used by me, only with the Pahlavi and the Brhatkathā versions As pointed out above, the Old Syriac and the Arabic versions are offshoots of the Pahlavi, which included not only a translation of a Pañcatantra version but a considerable amount of other material. Since the Old Syriac and the Arabic agree in presenting this other material, which is not found connected with the Pañcatantra in any other version, we should perhaps be justified on this ground alone in assuming that the Pañcatantra versions found in them

are closely and secondarily connected Of course, the same can be proved by both of the other methods mentioned above The case is different with the Bṛhatkathā versions, Somadeva and Ksemendra Here this third method is the only way by which we can prove their interrelationship It seems clear that the Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva and the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī of Ksemendra both go back as a whole to a common original (see Lacôte's work cited on page 23, note 14) Therefore it seems fair, *a priori*, to assume that materials common to both works were probably drawn, at least primarily, from that source (in spite of the fact that Ksemendra evidently used also another Pañcatantra version, see page 25) But for this fact, however, it seems to me that there would be no sufficient reason to assume such relations between the Pañcatantra sections of Somadeva and Ksemendra On the one hand, they contain no secondary stories in common (indeed, Somadeva contains no secondary stories at all) And on the other hand, they do not strikingly agree in verbal details It may be assumed that this is due to the facts that both of them are drastically abbreviated, and that both have cast their materials in poetic guise In spite of these facts, however, both of them have managed to retain many verbal correspondences from the original, and it is curious that even in these inherited traits they seldom agree closely with each other, rather, each preserves at different times *different* original features The only striking agreements between Somadeva and Ksemendra are their common omission of the Introduction and of Story I 3 But common omissions constitute merely negative agreements and prove nothing as to ultimate relationship, it is easy to suppose that they occurred independently For these reasons, I retain a lingering suspicion that after all Somadeva and Ksemendra *may* not impossibly have got their Pañcatantra versions from different sources That is, I think it is at present impossible to prove absolutely that they got these sections from the same common source from which they undoubtedly got most of the other materials in their works, tho the presumption remains that they did Nothing is shown by the position occupied in the Kathāsaritsāgara and the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī by the Pañcatantra sections of each, for both Somadeva and Ksemendra rearranged

their materials so extensively that there is little correspondence in the order of the major sections or books of their respective works (This is, however, not true of the internal order of the Pañcatantra sections of the two works, which in both cases follow strictly the order of the original Pañcatantra)

Versions which are not secondarily interrelated.—Unless versions can be shown by one of these three methods, and preferably by the first two combined, to be related, I believe that it is safe to consider them independent offshoots of the original Pañcatantra By applying these tests, I think that it is possible to establish four independent streams of Pañcatantra tradition These are

1 Tantrākhyāyika, Simplicior, and Pūrnabhadra To this group belongs also Ksemendra in part, since it apparently used Tantrākhyāyika On the other hand, Pūrnabhadra made partial use of at least one different stream, not secondarily related to any of the others, so that we have traces of at least a fifth stream, which however nowhere appears in a pure and uncontaminated form in the texts which we have.

2. Southern Pañcatantra, Nepalese Pañcatantra, and Hitopadeśa

3. The Brhatkathā versions, namely Somadeva and Kṣemendra But only Somadeva is a pure representative of this stream; Ksemendra is contaminated from Tantrākhyāyika. Therefore Ksemendra is significant when agreeing with 2 and 4, but not with 1

4 The Pahlavi versions

How to determine original matter?—My readers will by this time be asking, how can one tell whether a given feature—especially one occurring in more than one of the older versions—belongs to the original or not? Or how can one gauge varying degrees of probability in this respect? I have workt out a method for this operation, which is doubtless not infallible, but which in my opinion yields results that are as sure as our materials permit, and sure enuf to justify their publication It is not easy to make it clear in a few words; I shall develop it as succinctly as possible in the following pages. Illustrations

All versions point to a definite literary archetype.—In the first place the question might be raised (altho, so far as I know, it has not been responsibly raised in print), whether there ever was any "original Pañcatantra," in the sense of a single definite composition from which all the versions descended. It might be suggested that we are dealing simply with a nebulous mass of popular fables and stories, with its edges never clearly defined, a treasure-store upon which various literary redactors drew, each taking portions, and thus forming as it were, various overlapping tho not identical Pañcatantra "schools".[1] Nothing is more certain, to my mind, than the impossibility of such a view. A glance at the table showing the conspectus of stories of the original, Chapter VIII, is perhaps enuf to show this. From that table it appears that, disregarding the Hitopadeśa (which is only partly based on the Pañcatantra and has extensively rearranged the stories), all the versions agree in showing nearly all the stories which I take to be original, and, what is much more important, they have them *in the same order*, almost without exception. The frame stories of the five books are the same except that the Jain versions use a different story as the

[1] The Vedic schools have been suggested to me orally as a possible analogy, by a scholar whose judgment I value highly. But this analogy seems to me a very poor one. The Vedic schools grew up around the ritual; all the literary collections of the Veda owe their origin, form, and content to the Vedic ritual. The words spoken at this ritual were originally a quite ancillary matter, and naturally, therefore, a nebulous and indefinite one. The words actually varied constantly from time to time and from place to place, and their various forms bore only a vague and indefinite relation to each other. Out of that nebulous mass, as the thing gradually began to get crystallized, naturally there developt quite a number of more or less variant forms of the spoken ritual, which resembled each other only to an extent comparable to that to which the various temporal and local forms of the pragmatic ritual resembled each other. That is, there was a profound general similarity, after all, the ritual was essentially the same all over; but there was an indefinite number of minor variations, each of which, generally speaking, had as good a right to be called "original" as perhaps any other.—But until some reason can be shown for such a process of development in the case of the Pañcatantra, it seems to me we can hardly pass from one to the other as if the cases were analogous. That they certainly are not, it seems to me. What ritual, or other outside consideration, could possibly have been responsible for the *comparative* fixation of the Pañcatantra which must surely be admitted to be indicated as a condition precedent to all our versions?

frame for the fifth book Of the thirty-two emboxt stories, twenty-three are found in all the versions Of the remaining nine, one (IV 1) is lacking only in the Nepalese verse-text (that is, the single verse which it contained was omitted by the extractor of the verses); two others (I 4 and V 1) are lacking only in Somadeva, one (III 1) only in Pahlavi, two (III 7 and 10) only in Simplicior, one (I 3) only in Somadeva and Ksemendra; one (V 2) only in Somadeva and Pahlavi; and the ninth (II 4) in Somadeva, Pahlavi, and Simplicior [2] *All* the stories are found at the same point in the text of *all* recensions (so far as found in them at all), except that (1) Pahlavi has placed I 11 before I 7, (2) the Jain versions have transferred III 1 to Book IV and rearranged the stories of Book V, (3) Simplicior has transferred to Book IV some of the other stories of Book III (*cf* on this, however, page 31 f above) It is hardly plausible to suppose that so many redactors should have drawn on a loose stock of fables and, by mere accident, have come so close to selecting the same fables But it is next to impossible that, having once selected the fables, they should have arranged them all in practically the same order,—unless it were possible to show some reason in the nature of things, or some external determining cause, why precisely this order and no other should have been selected, and that seems not to be possible The fact that some of the versions have inserted secondarily quite a number of other stories does not detract from the force of this argument

Even more compelling, however, is the striking verbal agreement between the versions thruout so much of their extent Not only do they all, as a rule, tell the same stories in the same way Their very language is to a considerable extent identical, to an extent which would, I think, be literally inconceivable except upon the assumption that they go back to the single definite literary archetype assumed Take for example the passage, I §§ 34—48 and vss 7—23, quoted with readings of all versions in Chapter VI below. This passage includes fifteen consecutive prose sections and seventeen con-

[2] Our ms. of the Old Syriac happens to have a long lacuna where Story I 2 was found, since the story occurs in the Arabic, this lack need not be counted as a real omission

secutive verses from the frame-story of Book I Be it noted that the character of this particular passage is most unfavorable to its preservation intact It contains no action whatever, no dramatic elements which would arrest the attention or impress the memory Yet I think one who reads the variants of the several versions can hardly help agreeing, not only that they all, except Somadeva and Ksemendra, have preserved the sense of nearly all of it, but also that the extent of their verbal coincidences is such as would be quite inconceivable unless we assume that they all copied from texts which ultimately went back to one definite literary archetype Even Somadeva and Ksemendra show some traces of it (*cf* for instance Somadeva on I vs 9), in the dramatic portions, where a story is being told, they are much closer to the rest It is true that the verbal correspondences found in this particular passage are more perfect than is often the case for such a considerable stretch of the text But on the other hand, the correspondences in general sense, at least, are often, and especially in the dramatic and narrative portions, even more complete, that is, there are fewer omissions in some of the versions Enuf said we cannot but assume the actuality of our goal, the original Pañcatantra This being admitted, the question remains how to reach that goal?

1. Features common to all versions must be original.—It seems that we have the right to assume, as a starting-point, that such features as are common to all the versions considered in this work—which includes all the older versions—and occur at the same point, belong to the original Otherwise, we should have to assume either a chance coincidence (surely scarcely possible in so many versions), or that all of them go back to a secondary archetype more recent than the original Pañcatantra There is, in my opinion, no reason whatever to make such an assumption (See below, Chapter V, for my reasons for not accepting an assumption of this sort made by Hertel) At any rate, we can only treat the common original of all existing versions as, for practical purposes, *the* original Pañcatantra. We can hardly hope to get at one that is *more* original

2. Omission of features in Hitopadeśa and the Bṛhatkathā versions not significant—Secondly, the omission in certain

versions of features common to all the other versions does not seriously diminish the virtual certainty that these features are original. For instance, it is obvious on the face of it that the Hitopadeśa has rearranged its Pañcatantra materials so completely that the omission, in it, of a particular story or other feature cannot even tend to make us doubt the originality of that story or feature, if it is found in all the others. In the case of the Bṛhatkathā versions, Somadeva and Ksemendra, we must be more cautious, but something of the same sort is true of them. They preserve, to be sure, most of the stories, and follow the general drift of the text. But it is obvious, so obvious that anyone who knows them cannot help regarding it as axiomatic, that they have abbreviated the text most drastically. Particularly in the non-narrative portions, such as the sample referred to above and quoted in Chapter VI below (I §§ 34—48 and vss 7—23), they are extremely scanty. Therefore, if we fail to find a trace of an individual sentence or verse in Somadeva or Ksemendra, or both, it is evident that this is no reason for serious suspicion that it is unoriginal. If it is found in Tantrākhyāyika, Southern Pañcatantra, the Jain versions, and Pahlavi, and (if a verse) in the Nepalese Pañcatantra, all in the same position, it would be a hardened sceptic indeed who would refuse to believe in its originality. Chance could surely not account for the independent insertion, at the same place, of *many* identical features in so many versions, and I have been unable to find the slightest reason for suspecting that all these versions go back to a secondary archetype.

3 Very minor features common to a smaller number of independent versions are not necessarily original.—When it comes to agreements between a smaller number of versions, we must go more slowly. When such agreements concern only small details, it often becomes conceivable that they may be the result of chance, even tho they occur in two or three independent versions. A slight change in the prose narrative may occur to more than one redactor at different times. A proverbial stanza, known to many people as a "geflugeltes Wort," may be inserted independently at the same point in the narrative, if its meaning happens to fit the context. Such stanzas are often current in

several more or less variant forms, a redactor may have found a stanza in a certain form in his original, but because he happened to be familiar with the same stanza in another form, he may have changed it.[3] A redactor of another, independent version may do the same thing; then we have an agreement, which however means nothing as to the original. The general habits of individual recensions, as well as their general interrelationships, must be carefully considered in such matters. For instance, the Southern Pañcatantra in its most original form, the Bṛhatkathā versions, and the Pahlavi are all versions which contain few interpolations or expansions. Hence if we find a feature recorded in the Southern Pañcatantra, Somadeva, or Pahlavi, and also, in the same place, in some unrelated version, this raises a strong presumption that the feature is original, a stronger presumption than, for instance, would be the case with Simplicior or Pūrṇabhadra, both of which expand freely. Again, if the common feature occurs not only in the Southern Pañcatantra but also in the Nepalese Pañcatantra or the Hitopadeśa, the presumption becomes still stronger, for this indicates that it probably goes back at least to the common archetype of those versions, the "Ur-SP."

4. More important features common to several independent versions: probability of originality tends to vary with importance and closeness of correspondence.—The more striking and important the feature in question is, the greater is the likelihood that agreements between different versions indicate originality—always barring the possibility of secondary interrelationship, which must be shown by one of the methods outlined above (page 49 ff.). Some features (for instances, see Chapter VII) may occur in two versions only, and yet it may be more reasonable to assume that the others have omitted them, than that the two versions inserted them independently. These are the two alternatives that are always before us in such a case. It is by no means always easy to choose between them. There is no rule of thumb, no definite line that can be drawn; we can not define the exact point at which a variation becomes

[3] For examples (at least possible ones) of the last two processes, see the "unoriginal agreements" cited in Chapter VI.

so important, so peculiar, that it is harder to suppose its independent occurrence than its inheritance from the original And, as indicated in the preceding paragraph, no single instance can be considered absolutely alone It must be considered in the light of all other similar instances that occur, and in the light of the general habits of the versions containing it

5. Entire stories common to several independent versions at the same place are almost certainly original.—When it comes to *entire stories* occurring at the same place in different versions, it seems to me that the case is different, and much simpler Independent insertion of the same story *at the same place* in versions which knew nothing of each other, or of a common secondary archetype, seems to me a priori so improbable that we might almost reject its possibility—unless indeed there were in the original text a clear reference to the story in question And if the stories are told in the several versions not only at the same point, but also in language that shows clear verbal correspondences, then it seems to me that all possibility of doubt is liquidated In that case the versions must have taken the story from the same source And that source can only have been a Pañcatantra version—whether the original, or a secondary archetype Otherwise—if they drew on an outside source—what human probability is there that they would have happened to insert the same story, told in the same language (in part at least), at exactly the same point in the text? Seldom indeed is the appropriateness of an emboxt story to its context so compelling and exclusive that we could see any reason why, on the theory of chances, a redactor should have inserted that story precisely here, rather than in any of numerous other places.[4]—But if the story in question

[4] What happens when the same story is inserted independently in different versions can easily be seen from the instances in which it has occurred Namely (1) The stories are told in *very different terms*, with a markt lack of the verbal correspondences that tend to characterize the stories taken from the same archetype, and (2) They are found at widely different places Examples are the stories of the Treacherous Bawd (Pahlavi I 3 c, Tantrakhyāyika α III 5, Southern Pañcatantra ξ I 23, Nirmala Pāthaka's Old Marāthī V 9, see Hertel, *ZDMG* 69 115, and *Pañc* p 285), and the Blue Jackal (Tantr I 8, Kṣemendra I, 7, Simplicior I 10, Pūrnabhadra I 11 [in all these secondarily related], and Hitopadeśa III 6 Pet, III 7 Mu ,

was taken from a secondary archetype, my experience leads me to be confident that it would not stand alone There would be many other features in the versions concerned which would show the same common origin—whether entire stories inserted, or other less important insertions or variations As I have pointed out above (pages 49 ff), and as I shall illustrate in detail below (Chapter IV), such is regularly the case with secondarily related versions Their secondary relations strike one so forcibly that it is hardly possible to be in any doubt about the matter [5]

While such *a priori* considerations may be allowed weight, they have not been solely responsible for the conclusion which I have reacht on this point, and of which I feel more than usually confident That conclusion is that *stories which occur at the same place in more than one independent version belong to the original* Specifically, this means that stories occurring in the same place in versions belonging to any two of the four groups mentioned on page 52 must be original, viz (1) Tantrākhyāyika or Simplicior or Pūrnabhadra, (2) Southern Pañcatantra or Nepalese Pañcatantra or Hitopadeśa, (3) Somadeva (or Ksemendra, except that agreement between Kṣem and Tantr and the Jain versions must be ignored); and (4) Pahlavi There is a strong *a priori* presumption that smaller agreements between two or more members of these different groups also represent the original, but in the case of entire stories this presumption amounts to virtual certainty In actual fact, every story which I attribute to the original is found at the same place in at least *three* of these four streams of tradition, with two exceptions (II 4—really only an incident in Book II's frame story, *cf* note 21, page 26— only in Tantr, SP, Ksem, and Pūrn, and V 2, only in these same versions and Simplicior and Hitopadeśa [not in the same place in the

also in numerous later and secondary versions, Hertel, *Pañc*, *passim*) — That the latter story occurs in a different place in Hitopadeśa is of course not significant, since Hitopadeśa otherwise transposes the stories. What is significant is that the story is utterly different in Hitopadeśa, its correspondence to the others is extremely remote

[5] Except as to Somadeva and Ksemendra, which are so seriously abbreviated that the ordinary tests cannot be applied to them with such success, p 51

Jain versions and Hit.])—On the other hand, unoriginal are a number of stories found only in Tantr. and the Jain versions, or Tantr. and Ksemendra, and one story found only in SP, Nepalese, and Hitopadeśa. In the case of the stories common to Tantr., Jain versions and Ksem., there are internal reasons for thinking them spurious in most of the cases (*cf.* page 74 ff. below), and their omission in all streams of tradition except one is pretty sure evidence in itself. Especially noteworthy is their omission in SP, for SP is remarkably faithful in preserving all *important* details of the original (it compresses, but does not omit much), and in particular it has preserved, I think, every story of the original, a distinction which it shares only with Tantrākhyāyika and Pūrnabhadra.

6. Summary of methods by which originality is determined.—What is true with virtual certainty of entire stories is true with varying degrees of probability of smaller text units, down to individual words. If they occur in more than one of the four independent streams of tradition (page 52), the *a priori* presumption is that they are original. The strength of this presumption is greatest with larger sections, less with brief phrases, and least with single words. The presumption is strengthened by lack of any positive agreement among the remaining, discordant versions. If we find two alternative and irreconcilable agreements, each supported by two or more independent versions, it is evident that we are dealing, in one case or the other, with a chance coincidence, for both cannot go back to the original. In such cases we can only conjecture, with more or less plausibility, what the original had. But conflicts of this sort occur, I believe, only in the case of individual words, or at most very brief phrases, and even these are comparatively rare.

7. Features occurring only in a single stream of tradition.—Agreements between versions which are known to be even partially interrelated can never have conclusive force. For instance, an agreement between Tantrākhyāyika, Simplicior, Pūrnabhadra, and Kṣemendra never has more force than the reading of a single version, because these versions are all to some extent interdependent. On the other hand, when the disagreements of the other streams of tradition are purely

negative, that is, when the others simply omit a minor feature found in one stream, instead of containing a discordant reading, then it is often impossible to be certain that the feature in question is unoriginal For it is often quite conceivable that the feature has been omitted independently in the archetypes of as many as three streams of tradition We must remember on such occasions that the "Ur-SP" and the Bṛhatkathā archetypes abbreviate more or less on principle, and that we have only secondary and corrupt descendants of the Pahlavi archetype. Accordingly, when we find a minor feature well attested as belonging to (especially) the Tantrākhyāyika-Simplicior-Pūrnabhadra(-Ksemendra) archetype, and when there is no reason *a priori* to think that the feature is secondary (that is, when it is not inconsistent with something which we can establish on other grounds as pertaining to the original), then it seems to me that there is enuf chance of its being original to warrant putting it in the text—but *always in parentheses*, by which I indicate that the words in question *may be* secondary insertions —This applies to "minor" features primarily, for the more important and striking a feature is, the less likely is it that it would have been omitted in three different archetypes, particularly in the Southern Pañcatantra, which omits little of importance *A fortiori*, this principle can hardly apply to entire stories at all, in my opinion So few original stories are omitted in any version (none whatever, I believe, in the Southern Pañcatantra or Tantrākhyāyika or Pūrnabhadra), that it would be surprising to find the same story omitted independently in three archetypes. But furthermore the insertion of a story is almost sure to result in changes in the surrounding material, introducing in the context features which are indicated as secondary by the *positive* agreement of the other versions against those intruding features.

In regard to the moralizing verses which are so abundant in the Pañcatantra, it is usually very easy either to insert them or to omit them without altering the context at all—or at most only by adding or omitting an *uktam ca* or the like Consequently all redactors seem to have done both, either deliberately or accidentally In general I deal with the verses as with the prose, inserting in parentheses those whose originality

is not certain, particularly those occurring in Tantrākhyāyika and the Jain versions but nowhere else. With this exception, I make it a rule not to include, even in parentheses, verses of which no traces are found in any but a single stream of tradition There is more justification for making an exception of agreements between Tantr and the Jain versions in the case of verses than in the case of prose For the Bṛhatkathā versions omit almost all the verses, hence the omission of verses in them means little And both Pahlavi and "Ur-SP" reproduce the verses less perfectly than the prose

I freely admit that it is not only theoretically possible, but even likely, that I have by this method omitted a few stanzas which belonged to the original, but were lost in all versions except, say, Pahlavi, or the Ur-SP I can only say in defense that it seems to me that I have come much closer to the original *as a whole* by this method than by any other which could have been adopted, say, by including all the verses found only in Ur-SP Verses found only in the Pahlavi could not, of course, be included without guessing at the Sanskrit originals.

As to prose features, I think there is every reason to believe that the general sense of practically everything found in the original is included in my reconstruction, if not as a part of the *certain* text, then at least in parentheses as a possible but uncertain element in the original

Our methods are verified inductively and pragmatically, and are not based on mere abstract considerations.—These conclusions, I say, are not based wholly, nor even primarily, on the *a priori* considerations advanst above They have been workt out slowly and painfully, from a study of all the materials I have carefully tested all the other possibilities that I have been able to conceive, for I am well aware of the ease with which one may deceive himself by theoretical reasoning. I can honestly say that no other theory seems to me possible, in the light of all the evidence I hope and believe that anyone who open-mindedly studies my text and Critical Apparatus will agree with me For those who have not the time or inclination to do this, I offer below (Chapters VI and VII) some examples which illustrate my conclusions It must be remembered, however,

that any such selection must in the nature of things be regarded as illustrative, rather than as final proof. To prove the point definitely the *whole* must be considered.[6]

6 Winternitz, *DLZ* 31 (1910), 2760, was guided by very good instinct when he said: "Jedenfalls scheint mir die Übereinstimmung zwischen zwei oder mehreren der alten Rezensionen das stärkste Indizium für den Zustand des Grundwerkes zu sein." He has in mind here entire stories, but the same could be said of smaller text-units. Only instead of "der alten Rezensionen" he might better have said "der gegenseitig unabhängigen Rezensionen"—which is doubtless what he really had in mind; this would answer Hertel's question in reply, *ZDMG* 69. 118, "warum nur alten? Und wo ist die Grenze zwischen alt und jung?" (*Cf.* below, p. 67, note 7.) The qualification that such correspondences, to be compelling, must be found at the same place in the several versions, was clearly in Winternitz's mind, as is indicated by his following sentences. He was, to be sure, unfortunate in one of the instances he quoted; the story of the Treacherous Bawd is *not* found at the same place in Pahlavi and Tantrākhyāyika α, as of course Hertel was not slow to point out in his reply. But Winternitz was absolutely right in asserting, against Hertel, the originality of the story of the Old Man, Young Wife, and Thief (Reconstruction III. 6). This story occurs in all the versions except the α recension of Tantrākhyāyika and the Hitopadeśa,—and in the same place in all except Simplicior, which transposes it to the fourth book along with several other stories of the original Book III. Hertel's arguments (most recently in *ZDMG* 69. 117 f.) against the originality of this story seem to me lacking in all force. They are as follows:

(a) The story is inserted in a most extraordinarily awkward way in the frame-story of Tantrākhyāyika β.—True, but this merely shows the corruptness of the Tantrākhyāyika tradition. See my reconstructed text and Critical Apparatus, III §§ 165, 166, from which it is evident at a glance that Tβ has transposed to a position *before* the emboxt story these two sections, which all other versions (SP, Pn, Brhatkathā versions) have in their proper place *after* the story. I say, in their proper place, because they make very good sense here, and where Tβ has them they make nonsense, or very near it. It is just this transference in Tβ that has produced the "awkwardness" of which Hertel complains. The trouble with Hertel here, as in many other cases, is that he cannot bring himself to conceive that other versions may be more original than Tantrākhyāyika.—Furthermore, however, even if the "awkwardness" were original, and not secondarily produced in Tantr. alone, I agree with Winternitz (*l. c.*) that it would by no means disprove the originality of the story. There are not a few cases in which features which seem to us decidedly awkward are nevertheless surely original.

(b) Hertel asserts that the supposedly secondary insertion of this story in Pahlavi is responsible for the fact that the frame-story is there disarranged, so that the last owl minister does not speak.—This is a typical example of

Critique of Hertel's method.—I find myself here again differing from Hertel on an important matter of principle. He seems to

the way in which Hertel jumps at conclusions which happen to support his views A very moderate amount of comparative study of the texts would have shown him how groundless this allegation is In the first place, there were in the original *five* owl-ministers, each of whom was consulted in turn by the king Pahlavi mentions the consultation of only *three*. The one who falls out at this place is, therefore, not the only one whom Pahlavi drops, nor is he "der letzte," for the last of the owl-ministers, Prākāra-karna, speaks very much later in the original (Reconstruction III § 191, Tantr "A 231") This latter passage is omitted in Pahlavi too Does Hertel connect *this* omission with the alleged insertion of the story of the Old Man, Young Wife and Thief, which occurred several pages earlier?—But it is easy to demonstrate that the earlier omission of an owl-minister, which occurs just before this story in Pahlavi, has nothing to do with the story in any way Consult III § 155 of my reconstruction, with Critical Apparatus In this § 155 the original introduced the third owl-minister, Dīptāksa The section is omitted in Pahlavi, except that apparently some of the words contained in it are confused with the preceding vs 62 of the original (in the speech of the second minister, Krūrākṣa) It is clear from this that the omission of the third (not "last") owl-minister is due to the fact that the Pahlavi runs together his speech with that of the second, and this occurs *before* the story in question, and at a point whose originality is certain even by Hertel's standards (for the prose passage III § 155 occurs also in the α subrecension of Tantr, "A 225 a") It seems to me equally clear that the true reason for Pahlavi's failure to refer to *two* owl-ministers is a very simple one, and the same in both cases It is, that the original puts no *story* into the mouths of two owl-ministers (the second and the fifth, Krūrāksa and Prākārakarna) This made it easy for the Pahlavi to overlook the brief references to the consultation with these two The Pahlavi alludes only to as many owl-ministers as have stories to tell It runs together Dīptāksa's speech with that of Krūrāksa, and leaves out Prākārakarna altogether—At any rate the alteration in Pahlavi, which drops one owl-minister at this point, concerns only the *undoubtedly original* § 155 (Tantr. "A 225 a"), and does not at all concern the following story.

(c) If Hertel were right in his hypothesis of the "secondary archetype K," to which he believes all Pañc versions except Tantr, and in part even Tantr β, go back, then of course the agreement of all these versions would not prove the originality of the story. I shall show (in Chapter V) that this "archetype K" seems to be a fiction of Hertel's imagination But it happens that Hertel denies even to "K" this particular story, since he thinks it was inserted by the immediate archetype of Pahlavi. This apparently means that he would deny it also to his imaginary "N-W," which he supposes to be the common original of Pahlavi, the Ur-SP, and Simplicior In short, it appears that Hertel, unless I misunderstand him,

me, as to Winternitz (*DLZ* 31 [1910], 2760), to lay much too great weight on the rule which he lays down (*ZDMG* 64 631 f and elsewhere), that fuller versions must be assumed *a priori* to be later, and briefer ones earlier There is, perhaps, some justification for this rule, tho it has many exceptions But Hertel seems to come dangerously near to operating with it as a hard-and-fast axiom Yet he ignores it when it suits his purpose For instance, the Southern Pañcatantra is briefer than the Tantrākhyāyika, but Hertel does not hesitate to declare

believes that this story was inserted, purely independently, by at least four different redactors of Pañcatantra versions, viz those of (1) Tantr β, (2) Ur-SP, (3) Pahlavi, (4) Somadeva,—or their respective immediate archetypes (He would presumably suppose that the Jain versions and Kṣemendra might have got it from Tantr β) That this actually is his theory of the story seems indicated by his remark (Einleitung to Tantrākhyāyika Übersetzung p 141) that it is "ein Schulbeispiel fur Interpolation derselben Erzahlung in den verschiedensten Rezensionen"

Just what does this theory ask us to believe? That at least four redactors should have happened to pick out the same story [from where? is not clear] —should tell it in the same way [the narrative is closely similar]—and should insert it, by mere luck, at the same identical spot in Pañcatantra Book III, a spot, by the way, in which it is by no means called for by the context There are dozens, perhaps hundreds, of other places in the Pañcatantra where it would fit quite as well Is this rational? Is it not far more reasonable to suppose that all these versions, including the Ur-Tantrākhyāyika, inherited the story from the original, and that only the subrecension Tantr α—or the *one single manuscript* (note this!) which we have of it at this point—omitted it, for some reason or other? Does a single Hindu manuscript, full of lacunae and corruptions (as Hertel admits), really have so much authority as to outweigh the agreement of all other existing versions of the Pañcatantra, including the other manuscripts of its sister subrecension, Tantr β? Why may not the archetype of this manuscript have been corrupt, or had a lacuna, at this point? Or why may not its copyist, or one of his predecessors, have been offended by the awkwardness of the introduction to the story in Tantr β (referred to by Hertel himself), and so left the story out deliberately, for esthetic reasons? (Personally I think it probable that this is the true explanation, cf p 122 below) Or why may not some other reason—any of a dozen conceivable reasons—have led to its omission, deliberate or accidental, in this one ms of Tantr α?

Hertel's treatment of this story is worth considering at length, it seems to me, as a literal *reductio ad absurdum* of his theory that omission of a story in any one of certain recensions (Tantr α, Tantr β, Pahlavi, Somadeva, Southern Pañcatantra, Nepalese Pañc) constitutes good reason to suspect an interpolation

that it is an abbreviated text, and that Tantrākhyāyika's text is on the whole much more original Even more abbreviated is the text of Somadeva, as Hertel has also clearly indicated; it is not for that reason more original But more important is the fact that even versions which are on the whole expanded can be shown to have omitted some things from their originals Simplicior is an expanded version; yet it omits many details which are found in all the older versions, so that they surely would not be denied to the original by Hertel Numerous instances can easily be found from my table of correspondences, Chapter VIII Nay more· Simplicior omits at least one entire story which Hertel accepts as indubitably original (Brahman, Thief and Ogre, Reconstruction III 7, Tantr ed III 6) This shows that no such absolute rule can be laid down There is no version that does not contain both omissions and insertions, be they deliberate or accidental Some versions tend more or less strongly in one direction, some in the other, but none are consistent—no, not even Somadeva, which contains a few unquestionable insertions, nor Pūrnabhadra (the most expanded of the versions handled by me), which contains some unquestionable omissions. Nor is it fair to demand, as Hertel does, that we prove just *why* a version omits something, in every given case It would be just as rational to demand that we prove why it inserts something If we were omniscient, we could no doubt answer both questions Sometimes we can guess the reason—tho seldom, I think, can we be as confident as Hertel often sounds Frequently there is no discernible reason Once more, all that we can do in individual instances (after once deciding that we cannot assume secondary relationship between the versions concerned) is to ask ourselves the question, which is more likely. (1) that an identical variation or insertion was made independently in two or more versions at the same spot in the text, or (2) that this identity was inherited from the original? The answer will vary with the importance and definiteness of the identity, with the habits of the versions in question, and with the extent to which other (discordant) versions may tend to support one or the other alternative But it is a fundamental error of principle to make the assumption *a priori*, even tentatively, that when two or more versions

have a passage of which the rest have no trace, the former have inserted it secondarily[7]

[7] Hertel's remarks *ZDMG* 69 118f are entirely beside the point as far as my position is concerned, their only weight is derived from the fact that Winternitz (see note 6 above, page 63) said "alten Rezensionen" instead of ' gegenseitig unabhangigen Rezensionen", which he presumably meant For instance Kṣemendra is dependent on Tantrākhyāyika, and therefore agreements between these two versions prove nothing The Jain versions are interdependent with Tantrākhyāyika, and Pūrnabhadra is directly dependent on both Tantrākhyāyika and Simplicior, or their immediate archetypes The Anwāri Suhailī is known to have used other sources of Indian origin besides the Kalīlah-wa-Dimnah Meghavijaya and other late versions which have the story III 1 (Ass in Panther's Skin) in its original place of course got it from some version on which they depended (probably the Tantrākhyāyika, cf page 33) In short, when Hertel says " der Winternitzsche Grundsatz fuhrt uns wieder zu Kosegarten zuruck", he is perhaps making a good point in dialectics, but all he really does is to prove that Winternitz was unfortunate in his phraseology If we correct this as I have suggested, the "Grundsatz" is entirely sound Cf the preceding footnote 6

CHAPTER IV

SECONDARY INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF VARIOUS VERSIONS

OLD SYRIAC AND ARABIC

Common archetype of the Old Syriac and the Arabic —That the various Arabic versions and their descendants go back to the same archetype (the Pahlavi) as the Old Syriac—not, for instance, to a separate translation from Sanskrit—is shown by three considerations

1 They contain one interpolated story (Treacherous Bawd, I 3c) at the same point, and both transpose the story of the Three Fish (original I 11), making it I 7 In addition they show a number of common omissions of original stories—which might, however, conceivably have been omitted independently

2 They are in general very close to each other in verbal details thruout the work This has never been, and could not be, doubted by any one who takes the trouble to acquaint himself with the texts It is hardly necessary to quote examples Where unoriginal details are inserted in either Old Syriac or Arabic, they are usually found in the other also

3 The Pañcatantra sections of both are found imbedded in a larger whole, most of which is found alike in both (the parts which precede the Pañcatantra in the Arabic are not found in our ms of the Syriac, which is fragmentary at the beginning, they include some material inserted by the Arabic translator) [1]

We may designate as "Ur-Pa" the hypothetical Sanskrit version from which the Pahlavi translation was made

[1] Benfey believed that the original Sanskrit work included not only the five books of our Pañcatantra, but also the other sections peculiar to the Pahlavi He supposed that these had been lost in the Sanskrit Pañcatantra versions This opinion would surely never have been exprest if Benfey had been in possession of all the evidence which we possess.

Somadeva and Kṣemendra

Common archetype of Somadeva and Kṣemendra.—On the reasons for supposing that these two authors got their Pañcatantra sections from their general common archetype, the Northwestern Bṛhatkathā, see above, pages 51 f As there stated, it seems to me that this common archetype of the Pañcatantra sections rests on a presumption—a quite strong presumption, to be sure—but not on any absolute proof

Southern Pañcatantra, Nepalese Pañcatantra, and Hitopadeśa

The "Ur-SP," archetype of SP, N, and H—The fact that these three versions go back to a common archetype is proved by the following facts

1 They all contain a secondary story, the Shepherdess and her Lovers (SP I 12, N II 12, H II 6) In SP and N it occurs at the same point, in H in the same book, but not at the same point (H, as we have seen, rearranges its stories to a very considerable extent)

2. In verbal details they correspond most strikingly and constantly, and often in cases where the other versions suggest that they are unoriginal (*Cf.* Hertel, *Pañc*, p 432 ff) N has only the verses preserved, and H has omitted many of the stories altogether, but in so far as the same text-units occur in these three versions, they agree so strikingly that no one, I think, can doubt their connexion. So far as I know no one has doubted it Since the fact seems to be unquestioned and unquestionable, I shall not take the space to prove it by examples here My Critical Apparatus contains numerous examples.

The "Ur-N," the secondary archetype of N and H.—That the Nepalese Pañcatantra, containing only verses, goes back to a common archetype (called by me "Ur-N") with Hitopadeśa, an archetype closely related to the Ur-SP but not quite the same, is indicated by the following facts

1 Books I and II are transposed in these two texts, and in them alone

2 In many verbal details of the verses found in both texts they agree against all other versions, even SP See Hertel,

Pañc p 433 f, for examples Much more numerous examples can easily be got from my Critical Apparatus

TANTRĀKHYĀYIKA AND KSEMENDRA

Ksemendra used a Tantrākhyāyika manuscript —That one of the sources of Ksemendra was a Tantrākhyāyika text seems to me (following Hertel) to be clearly enuf indicated by the fact that Ks has five unoriginal stories, all of which occur in the Tantrākhyāyika in the same places One of the five (T and Ks IV 1, Punisht Onion-Thief) occurs in no other version, another (T and Ks III 11) occurs nowhere else in the same place (in Pn in Book I) These circumstances seem to indicate that the text used by Ks for these stories was either precisely our T, or a manuscript very close to it The other three stories are found also in the Jain versions at the same points They are Blue Jackal (T I 8, Ks I 7), Jackal Outwits Camel and Lion (T I 13, Ks I 12), and Potter as Warrior (T and Ks IV 3, in T ed put in Appendix because not found in *α*, *cf* p. 78)

Agreements in verbal details between T and Ks are necessarily few, because Ks abbreviates and omits so many details that it leaves only a very bare skeleton of the stories. But there are some cases in which Ks seems to have followed T in details that are secondary See *e g* my Critical Apparatus on I § 547

TANTRĀKHYĀYIKA, SIMPLICIOR, AND PŪRNABHADRA

The "Ur-Simplicior," source of our Simplicior, and one of the main sources of Pūrnabhadra —I have already (page 31) referred to this older form of Simplicior, the reality of which seems to me to be indicated with great probability by Pūrnabhadra's treatment of Book III, in which he has apparently followed a Simplicior text, but one which had not yet introduced the extensive alterations in the latter part of that book which are found in all manuscripts of Simplicior now known to us I have also referred (page 31) to the fact that Pūrnabhadra's text is for the most part a mosaic of this Ur-Simplicior (or at least of a text which must have been practically identical in language with our Simplicior) and the Tantrākhyāyika This fact has been proved by Hertel, especially in the Parallel

Specimens of text in HOS Vol 13 These cases are quite typical, and are confirmed by my Critical Apparatus It is hardly necessary to quote further examples here But it does seem to me worth while to quote a few very curious passages in which Pūrnabhadra has done this mosaic work so poorly that he has double versions of the same passage side by side, taking the one from Tantrākhyāyika, the other from Simplicior This seems to have escaped Hertel's notice

Duplications in Pūrnabhadra, due to his use of two sources.— I have noted four clear cases of this sort, there are probably others

1 Reconstruction KM §§ 11, 12 In reply to the king's request that he instruct his sons, the brahman Visnuśarman replies

Spl p 2, l 19 deva śrūyatām me tathyavacanam, nāham vidyāvikrayam śāsanaśatenāpi karomi punar etāns tava putrān māsasatkena yadi nītiśāstrajñān na karomi, tatah svanāmatyāgam karomi —athāsāu rājā &c

T A 2 (after vs found only in T, the brahman says) tat kim bahunā, śrūyatām ayam mama vacanasimhanādah nāham arthalipsur ity evam bravīmi, na ca mamāśītivarsasya vyāvrttasarvendriyasya kaścid arthopabhogakālah kim tu tvaddhitārtham buddhipūrvako 'yam ārambhaḥ tal likhyatām adyatano divasah yady aham na sanmāsābhyantarāt tava putrān nītiśāstram praty ananyasamān karomi, tato mamārhasi mārgasamdarśanena hastaśatam apakrāmayitum iti — etām asambhāvyām brāhmanasya pratijñām śrutvā sasacivo rājā &c

Pn p 2, l 4 deva, śrūyatām me tathyavacanam nāham vidyāvikrayam karomi śāsanaśatena etān punar māsasatkena yadi nītiśāstrajñān na karomi, tatah svanāmaparityāgam karomi

* kim bahunā, śrūyatām mamāisa simhanādah nāham arthalipsur bravīmi, na ca me 'śītivarsasya vyāvrttasarvendriyārthasya kimcid arthena prayojanam kim tu tvatprārthanāsiddhyartham sarasvatīvinodam karisyāmi tal likhyatām adyatano divasah yady aham sanmāsābhyantare tava putrān nītiśāstram praty ananyasadrśān na karomi, tato 'rhati me devo devamārgam samdarśayitum iti —etām brāhmanasyāsambhāvyām pratijñām śrutvā sasacivo rājā &c

It seems as clear as possible that Pūrnabhadra has simply taken over bodily first Simplicior's, and then Tantrākhyāyika's, version of this passage, so that it has two variant versions of the same matter

The next case is perhaps even more striking, since it introduces an internal inconsistency in Pūrnabhadra's text

2 In the story of the Cat, Partridge, and Hare (Reconstruction III 4), as told in Tantrākhyāyika (whose general sense is supported by most versions and is clearly close to the original), the partridge and hare set off to have their dispute decided (our text, III § 95) In § 97 the partridge

asks the hare (so T, SP, Pn with Pa makes the hare ask), who shall be the judge? In § 98 the other replies suggesting the pious cat who, he says, lives by the river engaging in austerities etc In § 99 the former opposes this suggestion, because the cat is *kṣudra*, here T, followed by Pn, quotes a verse (our III vs 48) to back up this opinion In § 100 the cat, overhearing this conversation, engages in prayer (Jain versions, preaches a sermon), striking a religious attitude to deceive them —Now Simplicior introduces its equivalent of § 100 before the question of the judge has been raised at all The cat hears the partridge and the hare quarreling and decides to deceive them, by acting as described *After* this (§ 100) Spl makes the hare suggest (without any preliminary question by the partridge, contrast our § 97), in what corresponds to our § 98

Spl p 67, l 15 śaśaka āha, bhoh kapiñjala, esa nadītīre tapasvī dharmavādī tisthati, tad enam prcchāvah

To which the partridge replies, in what corresponds to our § 99, not indeed rejecting the proposal outright, but

Spl p 67, l 16 kapiñjala āha, nanu svabhāvato 'yam asmākam śatrubhūtah; tad dūre sthitvā prcchāvah

Now Pūrnabhadra, as I indicated above, follows Tantrākhyāyika closely (the exact language may be found in my Critical Apparatus *ad loc*) in §§ 95—99 and vs 48,—reversing, however, the rôles of the partridge and the hare in the conversation (Pahlavi does the same, but the agreement is doubtless purely accidental, the like occurs not infrequently in all versions, SP supports T, the Brhatkathā versions are indecisive, and Spl rather supports T, as just stated) Pūrnabhadra's § 100 seems to combine T and Spl But *after* § 100 Pūrnabhadra follows with *Simplicior's* version of §§ 98, 99, as quoted above, in the position where Spl has them, and in substantially identical language (Pn p 190, l 23) In other words, Pūrnabhadra, anxious to omit nothing found in either of his primary sources, forgets that he has already represented the partridge as suggesting the cat as judge, and the hare as opposing the suggestion, and here he makes the *hare* offer the same suggestion, as if nothing had been said on the subject before (bhos tittire, esa nadītīre tapasvī dharmavādī tisthati, tad enam prcchāvah), while the partridge counsels caution (as in Spl), altho according to the preceding part of Pūrnabhadra (taken from Tantr) it was the partridge himself who first made the suggestion!

3 and 4 Other cases in which Pūrnabhadra has clearly reproduced the same passage twice, once in its Tantrākhyāyika form and once in its Simplicior form, will be found in my Critical Apparatus on I §§ 216 and 217 (which must be considered together) and I § 442. To save space I refrain from quoting or discussing these passages here.

The "Ur-Tantrākhyāyika," archetype of Tantrākhyāyika and the "Ur-Simplicior."—I have indicated above (pages 36 f.), very briefly, the nature of my reasons for assuming a common

secondary archetype for Tantrākhyāyika and the Ur-Simplicior (and, of course, Pūrnabhadra). This secondary archetype I call the "Ur-Tantrākhyāyika," for lack of a better name. That the two versions in question are secondarily related can be shown by the two first methods outlined on pages 49 ff., especially the first of them. That is, they both contain a number of secondary stories inserted at the same points, and they agree to a considerable extent in verbal details, many of which may reasonably be suspected of being secondary. These correspondences can hardly be explained by supposing that either Tantrākhyāyika or Ur-Simplicior is based directly on the other. For each contains original features which the other lacks. And I believe there is no reason for supposing that either is a contaminated version. Of course, it is hard to *disprove* contamination. The Simplicior, in particular, has (as we have seen, page 30) many striking features that did not belong to the original. And if anyone chooses to suppose that these secondary features were not the work of the author of Ur-Simplicior, but were taken by him from some older Pañcatantra version, now lost—there is no way to prove him wrong. This much, however, is clear to me: there is not a shadow of reason for believing that Simplicior has been contaminated with any other Pañcatantra version of which we now have knowledge, or whose former existence we have any conclusive reason to assume. In other words, I believe that when Simplicior agrees with any version other than Tantrākhyāyika, or Pūrnabhadra, or other (later) offshoots of these versions, such agreements are always either inheritances from the original Pañcatantra, or chance coincidences in petty details. Nowhere do I find signs of secondary connexions between Simplicior and, for instance, the Southern Pañcatantra, Somadeva, or the Pahlavi. (See Chapter V for a critique of Hertel's contrary opinion.)

Secondary stories inserted in "Ur-Tantrākhyāyika" and found only in its descendants.—I believe that the Ur-Tantrākhyāyika contained certainly three,—probably five, and very possibly a sixth, if not even more,—secondary stories. On page 36, note 29, I give a list of the six stories which may, in most cases with virtual certainty, be attributed to this secondary archetype. The reason for this is that they are all (except the

sixth) found in the same place in T, Spl, and Pn, and in most cases also in Ksemendra (which used Tantrākhyāyika), but in no other Pañcatantra versions If I am right in the principle laid down on page 61, this in itself would be enuf to make us strongly suspect that they do not belong to the original Pañcatantra But on the principle establisht on page 58, that stories found at the same place in several offshoots of an archetype pretty surely belong to that archetype, we should have to attribute the first five of them, at least, to the Ur-Tantrākhyāyika (as the archetype of T, Spl, and Pn, in all of which these stories occur at the same place). To be sure, two of these five are not found in Tantrākhyāyika α Their presence in Tantr β might be explained by assuming with Hertel that Tantr β is contaminated from some other Pañcatantra version. But I shall show later (pages 121 ff) that this opinion seems untenable Furthermore, I have failed to find the slightest reason for regarding any of the differences between Tantr α and β as due to influence from any outside version I am satisfied that the features which β contains and which α omits are mostly original features which α has lost, presumably in most cases as a result of lacunae or corruptions in the manuscripts or their archetypes (We have only two mss of T α in all, and for a large part of the work we have only one Both contain many lacunae, sometimes recognized by the copyists, sometimes not) If we reject the theory that Tantr β is contaminated, as I think we must, there remains no other plausible explanation of the discrepancies between the two subrecensions I have shown above (page 63, note 6) that Tantr α omitted one story which belonged to the original Pañcatantra

All these stories are regarded by Hertel, also, as not parts of the original Pañcatantra. But since Hertel seems to me to reject stories much too lightly, I think it desirable to show just how much definite reason there is, from my own point of view, for rejecting them In addition to the general consideration referred to above, that they occur at the same place in only one of the four independent streams of Pañcatantra tradition, I find the following specific grounds in each case

1. The Blue Jackal (T I. 8, Spl I 10, Pn I. 11, Kṣ I. 7; also H III 6 Pet , III 7 Mu.)—To begin with, the occurrence of this story in Hitopadeśa cannot be considered an indication of

its belonging to the original Pañcatantra Not only does it occur in a different place (which means little, since the Hit transposes its stories very generally), but it is told there in a wholly different way, and with a wholly different catch-verse Moreover, it is not found in any manuscript of the Southern Pañcatantra, nor in the Nepalese Pañcatantra This indicates that it almost surely did not occur in the ' Ur-SP," which was the archetype from which the Hitopadeśa got its Pañcatantra materials Hence, the story in Hitopadeśa is an interpolation

The insertion of the Blue Jackal story where it is found in T, Spl, Pn, and Ks disturbs the context The situation, in the original Pañcatantra, is as follows By telling the story of the Louse and Flea (I 7), Damanaka tries to prove to the lion that "one should not grant asylum to one whose character is unknown" (*na tv avijñātaśīlāya kaścid dadyāt pratiśrayam,* I vs 86) Upon hearing the story, the lion in § 309 quite naturally inquires what, then, *is* the nature of the bull "how can I recognize his hostility to me, and what is his manner of fighting?" Damanaka's suggestion that he does not know the bull's real character bears fruit at once, the lion makes inquiries on the subject Compare the parallel situation where Damanaka, later, makes the same suggestion to the bull regarding the lion (with Story I 9, Strandbirds and Sea, the moral of which is that one ought not to take irrevocable steps without knowing what one's enemy can do), and immediately the bull is prompted to inquire (I § 453) what the lion's style of combat is

But the versions which insert the story of the Blue Jackal at this point (just after the story of the Louse and Flea, and just before the lion's question to Damanaka, our I § 309) disturb the continuity of the tale. The moral of the Blue Jackal story is that it is dangerous to slight old friends in favor of strangers This is a wholly different point, which Damanaka had previously mentioned (I § 271, and vs 76) If the Blue Jackal story had been told in the original Pañcatantra, it should rather have been told at that place Where it stands in Tantr etc, it spoils the logic of the lion's question in I § 309, for that question is evidently the appropriate reply not to the Blue Jackal story, but to that of the Louse and Flea

2 Jackal outwits Camel and Lion (T I. 13, Spl I 16, Pn I 21, Kṣ I 12).—This is a part of a longer insertion, an expansion of the brief conversation between Karataka and Damanaka in the original I §§ 456—458 and vs 128 After vs 128, Tantr and the related versions insert several sentences and verses spoken by the two jackals to each other, and finally this story told by Damanaka to Karataka to illustrate the wisdom of "looking out for number one" None of the other versions contain any trace either of the story or of the surrounding material The story itself is furthermore an obvious piece of secondary patchwork It is made up of elements stolen from two other stories, which belonged to the original Pañcatantra, namely, the story of the Lion's Retainers and Camel (reconstruction I 8), and that of the Ass without Heart and Ears (IV 1) This will be evident, I think, to anyone who examines the story, the imitation of the former story is noted by Hertel, Tantr, Einleitung, p 134, top line These considerations seem to make it practically certain that the story is secondary

3. Weaver Somilaka (T II. 4, Spl II. 5, Pn II. 6).—As in the preceding case, this story is found in the midst of some unoriginal material, which disturbs the context, one particularly foolish feature in it is noted by Hertel, Tantr, Einleitung, p 136, second paragraph The consensus of other versions shows that the order of the Tantrākhyāyika is otherwise badly confused in the vicinity of this passage, see my Critical Apparatus and the conspectus of text-units, Chapter VIII That is, Tantr not only has inserted much secondary material here, but has confused the arrangement of the materials inherited from the original As to this story, it appears to have been built up around the theme of a verse which apparently was found in the original, viz the vs *yad abhāvi na tad bhāvi* &c, reconstruction II vs 68 This vs is found in SP and N, at the same place, as well as in T in the middle of the Somilaka story In SP it stands between two bits of prose that are found in Simplicior and Pūrnabhadra just after the Somilaka story, as it were driving home the moral of the story, which is identical with the moral of the verse and of these bits of prose (viz. that fate, or *karma*, decides everything) As so often, the

Southern Pañcatantra is here the most faithful representative of the original What evidently happened was that this familiar moral, stated in the original in a few prose words and one stanza, was developt by the Ur-Tantrākhyāyika in the long Somilaka story (which incidentally is a wretched piece of work, stupidly composed and awkwardly presented) The original verse was then included in the new story The original prose disappears from our Tantrākhyāyika text altogether, but is preserved in the Jain versions, being placed just after the story It is reasonable to assume that the Jain versions have followed the Ur-Tantrākhyāyika in this, and that our Tantrākhyāyika has lost this prose owing to the utter confusion into which its text has fallen in the vicinity of this passage [2]

4. Talking Cave (Tβ III 11, Appendix to ed.; Spl III. 4, Pn III 15).—This story (not found in Tα, must have been in the version of T used by Ks, which refers to the catch-vs, see my Critical Apparatus) occurs in a passage (our III § 249) which as a whole is found only in T, Spl, Pn, and Ks, and is therefore very possibly secondary in its entirety In it the wise owl-minister Raktāksa, foreseeing that the crow is going to destroy the owls, and having warned them in vain, summons his family and departs with them, thereby escaping destruction Nothing is said in the sequel by which we could tell whether this much belongs to the original or not On the principle (*cf* p 61) that a short passage such as this may conceivably have been omitted from the other three streams of tradition, and that it fits the context well enuf, I do not feel like absolutely rejecting our III § 249, tho of course I enclose it in paren-

[2] The fatalistic or *karma*-moral of the story is regarded by Hertel as sufficient proof of its unoriginality, since he believes the original contained only stories teaching lessons of trickiness (*nīti*), cf p 5 above While this argument may have some force, by way of confirmation of results otherwise proved, I do not believe that it has very much I should never admit that such a moral in itself alone would justify us in doubting the originality of a story. There is no question that the original contained at least *stanzas* teaching this moral (cf for instance II vss 70 and 71, just after this passage in my reconstruction, these two vss are found in T and Pahlavi, and I presume, therefore, that Hertel would not deny that they are original) And if stanzas, why not stories? Hertel expects a great deal too much single-mindedness, and too much care, from a Hindu composer

theses as doubtful, the chances are, in fact, that it is unoriginal These chances are much greater with the story Nevertheless I think the story probably belongs to the Ur-Tantrākhyāyika, tho surely not to the Ur-Pañcatantra Its omission in Tα is probably due to the fact that the T archetype (preserved in Tβ) was corrupt at the point where the story was introduced [3]— Incidentally the story is very poorly told in T, the Jain versions handle it much better, and certainly come closer to the way it was originally told The inferior style of the story in T may have been one reason why the redactor of Tα omitted it, if he omitted it deliberately

5 Potter as Warrior (Tβ, Spl, Pn, and Kṣ IV. 3; not in Tα).— The omission of this story in Tα proves nothing at all, since Tα demonstrably has lost part of the original matter both before and after the point at which the story is inserted (namely, Tβ IV vs 18, reconstruction IV vs 20, before the story, and Tβ A 301, with vs 23, our IV § 84 and vs 21, after the story) Tα ends the fourth book very abruptly with its vs 17 (our vs 19), and there is no doubt in my mind that the original was longer Nevertheless it seems to me unlikely that the original Pañc. contained the story here under consideration—for the general reasons mentioned page 61 In this case, as in the preceding (Talking Cave), I am unable to reinforce them by any internal evidence pointing to the insertion of the story It is appropriate enuf (if we assume the originality of Tβ A 297 and what follows, this passage and the story go hand in hand, and if one is unoriginal, the other evidently is) And it is, at least in the Jain versions, very well told, in the Tantrākhyāyika, not quite so well.—The general probabilities are, therefore, that the story belonged to the Ur-Tantrākhyāyika, but not to the original Pañcatantra

[3] Tβ reads, after *vatsyāmaḥ* (β *vart°*) in the text of § 249 (Tantr p 136, l 3, and Appendix, p 165, l 1), *imām ca guhām āsannavināśopaspṛṣṭām anugatām* (v l *°tam*) *tyajyatām* (v l *saṁtyajya*) *śreya* (v. l *śreyaḥ syāt*) *uktaṁ ca*·—At which point follows the catch-verse of the Talking Cave story, and the story itself No words resembling this sentence occur in Ṣpl or Pn Tα makes reasonable sense out of them (a *lectio facilior*), as follows: *imām* . *°śopasṛṣṭām tyajāma iti*, and then omits the story Hertel regards Tα as the original, and thinks Tβ has inserted the story The opposite theory seems at least as likely On the general question of passages found in Tβ and omitted in Tα see page 121

6 The Clever Haṅsa (T III. 11, Ks III. 11, Pṇ I. 19) —Here we have a story whose antiquity is even more questionable It occurs in the same place only in Ksemendra and Tantrākhyāyika β (but it may well have occurred also in Tα, we cannot be sure, since Tα has a long lacuna at the point where the story is found) Even the Jain versions do not have it at the same place, Pūrnabhadra has it in the first book, and Simplicior does not have it at all Hence it is doubtful whether it was found even in the Ur-Tantrākhyāyika, while there is no reason whatever to suppose that it belonged to the original Pañcatantra

7 Other stories which may possibly have been found in the Ur-Tantrākhyāyika.—Our Tantrākhyāyika contains two other stories (not to mention the story of the Treacherous Bawd, interpolated in Tα as III 5; see page 40, note 30) which are not found even in the Jain versions (Spl and Pn) One of them, King Śivi (T ed III 7), is found in no other version used by me (it is not even found in Tα, but since the ms of Tα has a lacuna at the place where it occurs, we cannot tell whether it occurred in it originally or not) The other, T IV 1, the Punisht Onion-Thief, occurs in the same place in Ksemendra, but nowhere else (the sole ms of Tα has a lacuna where it occurs, also) The failure of these two stories to occur in the Jain versions may conceivably be due to omission by them (Simplicior, at least, omits some original stories) Likewise, it is conceivable that some of the numerous stories found in the Jain versions, but not in Tantrākhyāyika nor any other Pañcatantra version, may have occurred in the Ur-Tantrākhyāyika But here we cannot do more than conjecture, and speculation on this subject is not likely to be fruitful. There is, in any case, not the slightest reason for supposing that any of these stories belonged to the original Pañcatantra.

Verbal correspondences between Tantrākhyāyika and Simplicior and Pūrṇabhadra.—The secondary relationships between Tantrākhyāyika and the Jain versions are, I think, sufficiently establisht by these unoriginal stories inserted in them We should expect, however, to find them confirmed by minor agreements in sense and language more striking and extensive than is the case with versions whose only connexion is thru the ori-

ginal Pañcatantra In fact we do find that Simplicior (not to speak of Pūrnabhadra, which as we have seen used Tantrākhyāyika directly) agrees at many places with Tantrākhyāyika much more closely than either of them with other versions To be sure, it is often hard to tell whether these agreements are secondary, or whether they go back to the original Pañcatantra Since both the Southern Pañcatantra and its relatives, and the Brhatkathā versions, tend to abbreviate the text in details, we have in Tantrākhyāyika and the Jain versions the only Sanskrit versions that are not essentially abbreviated Therefore, when they are fuller than the other Sanskrit versions, we must always consider the possibility that they preserve the original, and frequently the Pahlavi offshoots prove that this is the case Failing such confirmation from the Pahlavi, it is often impossible to tell whether we are confronting an abbreviation of the original by SP etc and the Brhatkathā versions (and an accidental omission in the Pahlavi), or an expansion by the Ur-Tantrākhyāyika The greater part of the phrases and sentences which I print enclosed in parentheses in my reconstructed text, indicating that their originality is uncertain, are of just this sort. they are found in Tantrākhyāyika and its relatives (Spl or Pn or both), but nowhere else (unless in Ksemendra) They may be original, but there is no definite proof of it It is probable that many of these passages are really unoriginal For there is no doubt that the Ur-Tantrākhyāyika contained some expansions in minor details, in addition to the above-mentioned insertions of stories.

Clearly secondary correspondences in detail between Tantrākhyāyika and Simplicior (and Pūrṇabhadra).—A few examples will now be given of minor agreements between Tantrākhyāyika and the Jain versions (especially Simplicior), all of which must, I think, be regarded as secondary, and most of which must have originated in the Ur-Tantrākhyāyika, the common secondary archetype of these versions Otherwise they would have to be purely accidental, which at least in some of the cases seems to me impossible.

1. **Reconstruction I §§ 18—22, including vss 4, 5.**—Here we have a passage in which the order of the original, as proved by the general agreement of SP, H, So, and Pa, supported by the requirements of the sense, is departed from in T and the Jain versions, The latter also, and

especially T and Pn, have a greatly expanded version The expansion probably goes back to the Ur Tantrākhyāyika, but, in part at least, certainly not to the original Pañcatantra

The passage includes T A 7 and 8 and vs 4, SP lines 56 ff with vs 5 N vs 3, Hp p 48, ll 19 ff with vs 16, Hm p 5, ll 5 ff with vs 19, So 18, 20-23, Ks 261-263 (Mank 6—8), Spl p 7, ll 12 ff, Pn p 4, ll 18 ff with vss 5, 6, Sy A 2, also in Arabic versions

The situation is near the beginning of Book I We have just heard how the bull Saṃjīvaka, abandoned by the caravan, had recovered from his accident and was enjoying himself on the banks of the Jumna, eating his fill and bellowing mightily Now the text proceeds to introduce the lion Piṅgalaka, as follows I quote first the readings of the other texts, then those of T, Spl, Pn, and Ks

§ 18

SP tasmin vane mṛgādhipatiḥ piṅgalako nāma svavīryārjitarājyasukham anubhavann āste tathā ca (α hi)

H tasmin vane piṅgalakanāmā siṃhaḥ svabhujopārjitarājyasukham anubhavann āste tathā coktam

So tatkālam cābhavat tatra nātidūre vanāntare, siṃhaḥ piṅgalako nāma vikramākrāntakānanaḥ

Sy In einiger Entfernung von ihm war ein Lowe, der jene Ebene im Besitz hatte, und bei ihm befanden sich in Menge Schakale, Fuchse und wilde Tiere aller Gattungen —Ar as Sy

vs 4

(In Sanskrit only in T, Pn, see below)

Sy Dieser Lowe war unklug [so Schulthess by emend, the ms reading means "klug"] und unpraktisch [*cf* anītiśāstrajñe in T, Pn] und durch sein Regiment ubermutig gemacht [*cf* sattvocchrite] —Ar, JCap 39 19 Erat autem leo magnanimis [Hebrew probably "proud," says Derenbourg] in suis negociis, singularis in suo consilio KF 3 14 Now this lion was exceedingly haughty in spirit, and whatever he wisht to do, he did independently, without employing the advice of anyone Notwithstanding, his knowledge was not very perfect

vs 5

SP, N, H nābhiṣeko na saṃskāraḥ siṃhasya kriyate mṛgaiḥ
vikramārjitavittasya svayam eva mṛgendratā

Variants a, N satkāraḥ c, SP °jitasattvasya —For Pn's reading see below *Cf* So vikramākrāntakānanaḥ, under § 18, this perhaps represents pāda c of this vs Possibly Sy and Ar also confuse this vs with the preceding

§ 19

SP sa cāikadā (α sa kadācit so read!) pipāsākulita udakārthī yamunātīram agāt (α yamunākaccham avātarat, so read!)

H sa cāikadā pipāsākulitaḥ pānīyam pātum yamunākaccham avātarat

So (20 a b) sa siṃho jātu toyārtham āgacchan yamunātaṭam

Not in Pa

§ 20

SP tena cānanubhūtapūrvam akālapralayaghanagarjitam iva saṃjīvakanarditam aśrāvi

H tena ca tatra siṃhenānanubhūtam (Hm °ta-pūrvakam) akālapralayaghanagarjitam (Hm om pralaya, Hp om ghana, but v l has it) iva saṃjīvakanarditam aśrāvi

So tasyārān nādam aśrauṣīt saṃjīvakakakudmatah, śrutvā caśrutapūrvam tam tannādam diksu mūrchitam

Sy Als nun der Lowe und sein Gefolge die Stimme des Stieres Sinzbug horten [furchteten sie sich, *cf* next], weil sie noch nie einen Stier gesehen, noch seine Stimme gehort hatten

Ar as Sy, except that the versions refer only to the lion, not to his attendants

§ 21

SP śrutvā ca kimcic chaṅkitamanāh (α cakita°) svagatam ālocya (α °cayan) tūsnīm sthitavān kim idam, ko 'trети

H tac chrutvā pānīyam apītvā sacakitah parivrtya svasthānam āgatya kim (Hp svāgatam for kim) idam ity ālocyāyam (Hm ālocayans) tūsnīm sthitah

So (*cf* preceding, śrutvā &c) sa siṃho 'cintavat kasya bata nādo 'yam īdrśah, nūnam atra mahat sattvam kimcit tisthaty avāimi (Brockhaus apāimi) tat, tad dhi dṛstvāiva mām hanyād vanād vāpi pravāsayet iti so 'pītapānīya eva gatvā vanam drutam, bhītah siṃho nigūhyāśīd ākāram anuyāyisu [This is interesting as one of the rare cases in which So has expanded the text]

Sy [*cf.* preceding, furchteten sie sich]—aber in der Erwagung Mein Gefolge darf nicht merken, daß ich in Furcht geraten bin, stellte sich der Lowe furchtlos und blieb ruhig auf seinem Platze stehen

Here follows, in all these versions, § 23, introducing the two jackals, Karataka and Damanaka

The version of T and Pn is markedly different from the above, and Spl and Ks, while much briefer, apparently indicate that their archetypes agreed with T and Pn The differences concern in part additions to the text (as I believe), but especially markt alterations in order, which result in a much poorer arrangement of the materials than that indicated by the other, independent versions

Let us first consider T. I italicize the words which literally reflect the common original T reads.

(§ 18, beginning) atha [*kadācit*, cf SP α, § 19] *tasmin vane* sarvamrgaparivrtah [*cf* last clause of Sy] *piṅgalako nāma siṃha*—

(§ 19) *udaka*grahanārtham *yamunākaccham avatitīr*suh—

(§ 20) *saṃjīvaka*sya mahāntam garjitam [so mss , ed. em garjitaśabdam] aśrnot.

(§ 21) *tam ca srutvā*tīvaksubhitahrdaya *ākāram* [*cf.* So] āchādya maṇḍalavatapradese caturmaṇḍalāvasthānenāva*sthitah.*

Here follows, in our § 22, a section found only in T and its relatives Spl and Pn, an explanation of the curious terms introduced by them in § 21

(which explanation, by the way, leaves us more in the dark than ever, *obscurum per obscurius*!) This § 22 *may* be original, that is, its originality cannot be disproved

After § 22 T proceeds atha piṅgalakah—and here follows a series of epithets describing his rule, in the extreme of the ornate kāvya style, covering nine lines of fine type in the edition, and ending with this

(§ 18, end!) *vanāntare* [*cf* So] nihsādhvasam uccāih śiro vahan *rāja*tvam *anubhavann āste* api *ca*

(vs 4) ekākini vanavāsiny arājalaksmany anītiśāstrajñe
sattvocchrite mrgapatāu rājeti girah parinamanti

After this T proceeds with § 23, agreeing with the others

Pūrnabhadra, in this entire passage, agrees almost precisely with T, with only very minor verbal variants of no interest, and in exactly the same order But at the end, after vs 4, Pn adds our vs 5 (Pn's vs 6) which, as proved by the other versions, belonged in the original immediately after our vs 4, to be sure,—but both verses belonged at an earlier point In vs 5 (Pn 6) Pn agrees *literatim* with the text as printed above from SP, N, H

Simplicior also points to the same archetype with T, but is fragmentary It begins like T

(§ 18, beginning) atha [kadācit, to § 19] piṅgalako nāma simhah sarvamrgaparivrtah—

(§ 19) pipāsākula udakagrahanārtham yamunātatam avatīrnah

(§ 20) samjīvakasya gambhīrataram śabdam dūrād evāśrnot

(§ 21) tam ca śrutvātīvavyākulahrdayah sasādhvasam ākāram prachādya vatavrksatale caturmandalāvasthānenāvasthitah

Of § 22, however, Spl has only the first sentence (practically as in T), naming the four mandalas, but not undertaking the explanation of the names found in T and Pn Spl also lacks the long description of the lion's rule and likewise the following, transposed part of T, Pn, which reproduces the last part of the original § 18 and the two verses! Spl, in short, after the first sentence of § 22, proceeds immediately with § 23, agreeing thenceforth with all the other versions Evidently Spl has shortened its immediate archetype, the Ur Tantrākhyāyika, here, for the last part of § 18, and at least vs 4, must have been found in Ur-T, belonging as they do to the original Pañcatantra and being found in our T (tho transposed in order) It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that Spl also has omitted the expanded portion of T, Pn, which occurs precisely at the same spot In other words, it seems at least very likely that the whole expansion of T and Pn goes back to the Ur-Tantrākhyāyika.

Ksemendra has an abbreviated version, which however probably points to an arrangement of the materials like that of T, Pn (see especially the readings of Ks quoted in my Critical Apparatus under §§ 18, 19) But Ks contains no trace of the expansion noted in T, Pn

What conclusions are to be drawn from this passage? First, T and Pn have *probably* expanded the text, and this expansion *probably* goes back

to Ur-T, as indicated by Spl Secondly—and whether the other conclusion is true or not—T and Pn have *certainly* deranged the order of the materials, and this derangement seems to be implied also in the fragmentary versions of Spl and Ks

Namely the last part of the original § 18, and the two verses (one verse only in T, which omits vs 5) immediately following it, are transposed to a position after § 22 (and after the expansion thereof found in T, Pn only) That the two parts of § 18 belong together, and that the two verses belong immediately thereafter, is shown by the agreement of the other versions, all of which have them in this place if at all (SP, N, and H omit vs 4, and Pa either omits vs 5 or fuses it with vs 4) That the passage of T, Pn which I identify with the end of § 18 really represents that part of the original is shown by the close verbal correspondence (note particularly the verbal expression anubhavann āste at the end, in T as well as SP, H [Pn anubabhūva]) The originality of the order of SP &c is also proved by the greatly superior sense The description of the lion's rule should evidently precede, not interrupt, the description of his action on hearing Saṃjīvaka's roar

In passing we may note a particularly clear verbal correspondence inherited from the original in SP, H, So, and Pa, and not found at all in T, Jn in § 20 the bull's roar is described as ananubhūtapūrvam (by the lion) in SP, ananubhūtam or °ta-pūrvakam in H, aśrutapūrvam in Somadeva, and in Sy we read "weil sie noch nie einen Stier gesehen, noch seine Stimme gehört hatten" Neither T nor Spl nor Pn has any such expression Presumably the word was omitted in Ur-T

Note also the very close literal correspondence thruout between T and Spl—pointing to the secondary archetype Ur-T

2. Reconstruction I §§ 29, 30.—Here the Ur-T apparently had a duplication, which remains in our T, while Spl (followed by Pn) made an attempt to gloss it over. Again the sense, as well as the agreement of the other versions, proves T-Spl-Pn secondary

The passage occurs in Story I 1, Ape and Wedge Exact references to the several versions may be got from my Critical Apparatus I quote first T (p 7, l 15)

(*cf* § 30) akasmāc cānusaṅgikam devagṛhe vānarayūtham āgatam

(§ 29) atha tatrāikasya śilpino 'rdhasphoṭitakāsthastambho (β °pāṭitaḥ kā°) 'rjunamayaḥ khadirakīlakena madhye yantranikhātenāvastabdho 'vatiṣṭhate

(§ 30) tatra kadācid vānarayūtho giriśikharād avatīrya svecchayā taruśikharaprāsādaśṛṅgadārunicayeṣu prakrīḍitum ārabdhaḥ.

These three bits of text, which are found consecutively in T, may be translated thus "And a herd of apes, tagging along for no particular reason, came to the temple Now there was a beam of arjuna-wood, which one of the workmen had partly split, and which had been left held apart by a wedge of khadira-wood driven into it by a mechanical device Now it happened once that a herd of apes came down there from a mountain-

top and began to play about at random in the tree-tops, the turrets of the building, and the piles of wood"

Is it not sufficiently clear that the first and third sentences duplicate each other—or, to put it in another way, that the third sentence begins in a way which implies that the apes had not been mentioned before? If the apes had already "come to the temple," why later speak of them as "coming down from the mountain-top," and why "once upon a time" (kadācit), when the time had already been definitely specified as the particular hour when the carpenters went away to dinner on this particular day?

This inconsistency was notist by Spl (which Pn follows closely thruout this passage) It reproduces the first two sentences almost verbally as in T

atha kadācit tatrānusaṅgikam vānarayūtham itaś cetaś ca paribhramad āgatam —tatrāikasya kasyacic chilpino 'rdhasphātito 'ñjanavṛksadārumayah stambhah khadirakīlakena madhyanihitena tisthati

But the third sentence is changed by Spl thus, by omitting the bothersome words kadācid and giriśikharād avatīrya

atrāntare vānarās taruśikharaprāsādaśrṅgadārupary antesu yatheccayā krīditum ārabdhāh —"At this juncture (no longer 'once upon a time'!) the apes started to play at random among the tree-tops" &c

The other versions, however—SP, H, So, and Ks (Pa is very confused in the order here, but at any rate does not in the least support T, Spl) —agree in the order of our reconstruction (1) Temple is being built, (2) Carpenters leave the place, (3) One of them leaves the half-split piece of wood held apart by a wedge, (4) Herd of apes arrives, (5) One of the apes takes hold of wedge, &c In all the other Sanskrit versions the apes are first mentioned in our § 30, after our § 29 which speaks of the wedge left by the carpenter T agrees with them in having § 30 in the right place, but stupidly inserts an anticipation of it before § 29, thus interrupting the thread of the story and making its version internally inconsistent, or at least very harsh Spl removes the internal inconsistency, but leaves the interruption of the thread of the story, its version is still abrupt, passing from the carpentry-work to the apes and back again, instead of waiting for the logical place to introduce the apes

Note again the close verbal relations between T and Spl, pointing to the secondary archetype Ur-T

3. Reconstruction III vs 99.—Here again T and Spl agree on a reading which is shown by the agreement of SP, N, Pa, and Pn to be secondary Pn apparently drew his reading for the verse from his third source, not from either T or Spl (*cf* page 37) The Ur-T, source of T and Spl, may be presumed to have had the secondary reading on which these two versions agree

The verse, as I reconstruct the original, reads

rnaśesam agniśesam vyādhiśesam tathāiva ca
ariśesam ca nihśesam krtvā prājño na sīdati

"A remnant of debt, of fire, of disease likewise, and of a foe should be blotted out without remnant by a wise man if he would avoid disaster"

The first half verse is identical in all the Sanskrit versions where it occurs (T, SP, N, Spl, Pn) except that SP and Spl read cāgniśesam in a, and T, Spl, and Pn read śatruśesam (synonym of ari°) for vyādhi° in b In cd SP, N, and Pn read alike except that Pn has vyādhiśesam for ari°, thus restoring the sense of the original in its entirety, merely exchanging śatru°(=ari°) with vyādhi°, and N reads rājan for prājño But T and Spl have a quite different second half, which results in a total elimination of vyādhi°

punah punah pravarteta tasmāc chesam na kārayet

(Spl pravardhante, and dhārayet) The Pahlavi undoubtedly agreed with SP, N, Pn in mentioning all four things—debt, fire, disease, and enemy, and the original Pañcatantra is thereby proved to have read thus The Arabic preserves the complete sense of the Pahlavi, its versions mention all four things (except that some of them, as JCap and KF, say corruptly "other things" instead of "debt") The Old Syriac has only three things, viz debt, enemy, and a corrupt word which Bickell emended to a word meaning "disease" Schulthess, being misled by Hertel into supposing that the original must have agreed with T in having no mention of "disease," emended to a word meaning "fire," which is paleographically more remote from the ms reading than Bickell's suggestion I think there is little doubt that Bickell was right But be that as it may, the Arabic proves beyond peradventure that the Pahlavi had both "disease," and "fire."

Unless T and Spl got their secondary readings independently from a version of the stanza known to the redactors of both as a "geflugeltes Wort"—a possibility which cannot be entirely ignored—we should have in this stanza another proof of a secondary reading in the Ur-T, inherited in both T and Spl

4. Reconstruction III § 54.—In the story of the Elephant, Hares, and Moon, after the herd of elephants has wrought havoc among the hares, the hares that are left alive assemble for consultation (T, hataśesāh śaśāh sampradhārayitum ārabdhāh) Then, according to all Sanskrit versions except T, Spl, and Pn (namely, SP, H, So, Ks is so abbreviated that it hardly gives evidence either way, but at least it is not inconsistent with SP &c) the hare-king, named Śilīmukha, lays before the assembly the problem confronting them and asks for suggestions This is good nīti practice; compare the like situation in Reconstruction III § 7 ff, where the crow-king acts similarly after the crows have been worsted by the owls The Pahlavi versions differ only in that the statement of the disaster that has befallen the hare-community is put into the mouths of the general assembly of hares, who appeal to their king for help, whereupon (according to the Arabic) the hare-king orders the wisest hares to consult him on the subject

But in T, Spl, and Pn the hare-king is not mentioned at this point at all The hares assemble and express, apparently to each other, the thots attributed to the king in the other versions In the next section, III § 55, Spl has a wholly individual variation, but the other versions all agree essentially in making the clever hare Vijaya offer his services

Only after this, in § 56, do we find T (followed by Pn) introducing the hare-king (śilīmukho nāma śaśarājo &c , note the language, which clearly implies that he is mentioned for the first time), who now (as in the other versions) accepts Vijaya's offer It seems clear, both because of the agreement of the other versions and on grounds of general probability, that the Ur T and its descendants, T Spl, Pn, are secondary in not mentioning the hare-king at the opening of the assembly In spite of the presence of the king (as shown by § 56), the descendants of Ur-T represent the assembly as being opened, and the call for the general suggestions made, by the ignobile vulgus, which is surely not good nīti

The verbal correspondences between the versions in this passage are not very close, tho the sense is the same but for the point mentioned The readings of all the versions will be found in my Critical Apparatus *ad loc*

5. Reconstruction III §§ 71, 72 —In the same story, Elephant, Hares, and Moon, after the clever hare has frightened the elephant-king with his bluff about the moon's anger, the elephant humbly expresses his regret and promises to do better in the future But the hare, wishing to impress him (or to exercize his own cleverness) still further, tells him he should go and visit the moon and apologize in person The elephant consenting, the hare takes him by night to the clear lake, in which the moon's image is reflected in the water, and when the elephant makes obeisance with his trunk, attributes the ripples caused thereby on the reflected face of the moon in the water to the moon's displeasure at being disturbed

So, essentially, all versions—except that in T, Spl, and Pn the suggestion of the visit to the moon is made by the elephant, not by the hare In T the elephant says, § 71 tat pradarśaya [most mss pradeśaya] panthānam, kva tam paśyeyam iti In Spl he says atha kva vartate bhagavān svāmī candrah, and two lines below again yady evam tad darśaya me tam svāminam yena pranamyānyatra gacchāmah Pn has a sort of combination of T and Spl not very close to either

The agreement of all the other versions is enuf to establish the original Pañcatantra Their reading is, moreover, a more natural one The hare has planned in advance the trip to the lake, where he intends to show the moon's image to the elephant It is therefore more plausible that he, not the elephant, should suggest the visit to the moon

The readings of the several versions are again not very close to each other, tho the sense is much the same in all, except for this one point.

6. Reconstruction II § 233 —Upon seeing the tortoise carried off by the hunter, according to SP

tato mrgamūsakavāyasāh (α adds paramodvegavantah) kimkartavyatāmūdhā rudantas tam anuyayuh hiranyakah (α °ka āha) kim rudyate

Similarly H, except that it has no phrase like kim rudyate Pa is closely similar to H, Sy reads

Als ihre Genossen das sahen, wurden sie bekümmert, und die Maus sprach

Ar The gazelle, the crow, and the mouse assembled. . At this their grief became oppressive, and the mouse said.

The Br versions are so abbreviated that they can hardly be used as evidence, but at least Ks speaks of all the companions of the tortoise (te ca jagmur &c)

The Ur-T, however, apparently mentioned only the mouse T reads

tadā nīyamānaṃ dṛṣṭvā hiraṇyaḥ paraṃ viṣādam agamat, āha ca

Similarly both Spl and Pn Apparently the secondary change in Ur-T, by which only the mouse is mentioned, without the deer and the crow, was due to the fact that the following speech was put into the mouth of the mouse alone All versions which have the speech at all (the Br versions omit it) agree on this

7. Minor and miscellaneous agreements of T and Spl.—The above may serve as samples of the secondary connexions between T and the Jain versions Attentive students of my Critical Apparatus will note many other verbal correspondences, large and small, between T and Spl (not to mention Pn, which as we have seen used both of these texts) Let it be clearly understood that I do not think it possible definitely to *prove* any such relations by half a dozen instances even as striking as those which I have quoted Conclusive proof can only be furnisht by a much larger collection of examples, which considerations of space forbid my furnishing here They can easily be found by those who wish to find them in my Critical Apparatus They include even agreements in the smallest details of language, as for instance I § 3, where T, Spl, Pn, and Ks read dākṣiṇātye janapade (Pn °yeṣu °padeṣu), but SP and H dakṣiṇāpathe, which is shown by the Arabic DSTB' (with variants, abundantly pointing to a Skt word ending in -patha) to be the original Pañcatantra reading Or again I § 4, where SP and Pn (Pn evidently following his third source, independent of T and Spl) read sārthavāhaḥ prativasati sma (H vaṇik, v l adds mahādhano, prativasati [Hm and v l of Hp nivasati]), while T and Spl read śresthiputro (Spl vaṇikputro) babhūva The independent agreement of SP and Pn determines the original Pañcatantra, T and Spl apparently inherit a secondary reading from Ur-T Or, to add one last example from a verse, I vs 173

pitā vā yadi vā bhrātā putro vā yadi vā suhṛt
prāṇadrohakarā rājñā hantavyā bhūtim icchatā

With certain variants in the second half verse we are not now concerned. The first half verse is read exactly as here printed in SP, N, H, and Pn, thus establishing the original Pañcatantra, since Pn is independent of SP &c T and Spl read thus in the first pāda, but in the second they read bhāryā putro (Spl transposing, putro bhārya) 'thavā suhṛt Of course, the agreement between T and Spl here, in the case of a verse, might be due to the fact that the verse was otherwise known in this form, as a floating proverbial stanza But the numerous similar agreements between the same two versions make it seem more likely that they inherited this form of the verse from their common secondary archetype

CHAPTER V

CRITIQUE OF HERTEL'S VIEWS OF INTER-RELATIONSHIP OF VERSIONS

General remarks on Hertel's views of the Pañcatantra versions.—With the exceptions noted in my last chapter, I believe that all the Pañcatantra versions dealt with in my study are independent of each other. That is, they are related only thru the original Pañcatantra; they are not offshoots, in whole or in part, of any secondary archetypes. As has already been intimated several times, I find myself differing very markedly in this respect from Professor Johannes Hertel. Since he has in the past devoted more labor than any other man to studying this subject, since his opinions very naturally and properly command wide-spread attention, and since they are accepted by many as proved facts, it seems necessary to devote a special chapter to showing the extent to which I think them erroneous, and the reasons for this opinion. In doing this I shall have to repeat to a considerable extent my previously publisht study of Hertel's views (*American Journal of Philology*, 36. 253 ff., year 1915). In the matters covered by that study I shall try to summarize as much as possible, referring to that place for a fuller statement.

It will, I trust, be understood that I am actuated by no desire to detract from the value of Hertel's work, or by any other personal considerations. I recognize gratefully the great debt which I owe to Hertel, and not only I, but all students of the Pañcatantra, for his laborious editions and translations. I regret the necessity of differing from him so radically, even on purely impersonal and scientific questions. But such differences of opinion as I have must be stated sharply and definitely, all the more because of the striking assurance with which Hertel states his views. He admits not the slightest question of any part of his genealogical table of Pañcatantra versions. He regards every part of it as absolutely and irrefutably proved,

and draws sweeping and important conclusions from it, using all parts of it as establisht facts in demolishing his critics. There are, indeed, some parts of it which are sound and indisputable. But there are other parts which seem to me to rest on purely subjective interpretations and over-hasty generalizations from a few more than doubtful cases. It is necessary to separate the false from the true. And to do so is a surprisingly easy task, in my opinion. When carefully analyzed, there is amazingly little sound evidence for several of Hertel's allegations—considering the comparative certainty of some of his other conclusions.

Points in Hertel's genealogical table of versions which this chapter will try to disprove.—I shall now undertake to show the unsoundness of four points in Hertel's Pañcatantra genealogy, namely: I. The supposed lost version "t," archetype of all existing versions, but containing certain definite corruptions. II. The supposed archetype "K," from which Hertel thinks all versions except Tantrākhyāyika are descended. III. The supposed archetype "N-W," from which he thinks Pahlavi, the Ur-SP (and its relatives), and Simplicior are descended. All these three supposed archetypes are, I think, mythical.[1] IV. Hertel

[1] Of minor importance is another supposedly lost archetype, which Hertel calls "n-w[1]," and which I think is also imaginary. He says (*Pañc.*, p. 432): "Zwischen n-w [by which he means what I call "Ur SP," the common archetype of SP, N, and H] und SP liegt eine, ganz bestimmte Mangel (Korruptelen und Lucken) aufweisende Hs. n-w[1]; diese Mangel sind nach reichem hs. Material in der Einleitung zu meiner Ausgabe des SP S. XXXVI—XLIII und S. XLVI—LI festgestellt." A careful study of the pages referred to reveals not the slightest sign of any evidence that supports this statement. I find there a discussion of a series of supposed corruptions in all SP manuscripts. Aside from the fact that many of the cases are more than doubtful, not one of them, even if we granted Hertel's contentions, would prove the existence of the intermediate archetype "n-w[1]" between "n-w" (= Ur-SP) and SP itself. And that for two reasons. 1. In most of the cases the Nepalese version agrees with the best mss. of SP, which fact Hertel overlooks. Consequently, if there really was a "corruption," it must according to Hertel's own theories go back to his "n-w," and cannot have been introduced between "n-w" and the SP. 2. In the remaining cases there is nothing whatever to show that the corruptions, or changes, were not introduced in the SP itself, that is in the manuscript of the original redactor of SP. There is no need to assume any older archetype such as the imaginary "n-w[1]".—Since this point is of very minor importance, I merely note it here in passing and shall not refer to it again.

believes that the β subrecension of Tantrākhyāyika was interpolated from an outside version—an offshoot of his supposed archetype "K"—and that Tα is the only pure representative of the Tantrākhyāyika tradition I believe that if anything the reverse is the case, that is, that Tβ is on the whole a rather fuller and better representative of the Tantrākhyāyika tradition than Tα, and that neither one shows any signs of interpolation from any other version of the Pañcatantra

Hertel's proofs are insufficient in quantity even if they were individually sound.—I shall try to show that the arguments which Hertel advances for his "t," "K," and "N-W" archetypes are individually inconclusive It seems to me, however, that they are open to this more general criticism the number of instances he adduces is too small to prove anything He has produced about half a dozen cases of alleged common corruptions to support his archetype "t," about ten for "K," and only two for "N-W" Even if it were true (as it is not) that in these few instances identical corruptions have occurred in the versions as assumed by Hertel, it is quite possible to believe that these few changes crept in independently in the versions which show them They need not go back to common archetypes containing these "corruptions" Hindu literary tradition is too complicated to be settled thus lightly In no work of the size of the Pañcatantra could interrelationship of the versions be determined by any half-dozen or dozen agreements or disagreements, however striking, and Hertel's are for the most part not striking at all, but infinitesimal (concerning petty changes of a syllable or two in individual words) By such agreements the close connexion of any two different subrecensions of any Hindu work could be proved I illustrated this in my article *AJP* 36 275 ff (for other illustrations of inconclusive agreements see my Critical Apparatus *passim*, and especially Chapter VI, end, of this introduction) I pointed out there that by just such reasoning as Hertel uses one could prove that Tα and SPα go back to a common archetype different from SPβ and Tβ, or that T and the Nepalese Pañcatantra are more closely related than SP and the Nepalese; or any other conceivable absurdity Since it is obvious to anyone who has ever lookt at the versions that such conclusions

would be unwarranted, I think it is thereby indicated that Hertel's methods are unsafe. This is their *reductio ad absurdum*. Real genetic relationship must rest on much broader considerations than this: on sweeping and extensive changes in the original plan of the work as a whole, or on extensive and far-reaching verbal agreements (including a *very large* number of common corruptions or changes in detail). On such broad and sound considerations Hertel bases his conclusions regarding the relationships of SP, N, and H, for instance. (See e. g. his *Pañc.* p. 432 ff. Note the contrast between the unmistakable cogency and effectiveness of the evidence there produced, and that which I am about to quote regarding "t," "K," and "N-W.") But nothing even remotely resembling *that* sort of evidence has yet been produced by Hertel in support of the conclusions with which we are now dealing. The reason for this omission is indicated in the next paragraph: such evidence does not exist.

These theories are not only unproved but unprovable.—It should be distinctly understood that my disbelief in these theories of Hertel's is not based solely on the insufficiency of the evidence which he has advanst in support of them. I have kept them constantly in mind in working thru the versions myself, and have carefully searcht for signs of their correctness, and in vain. While, therefore, this chapter will naturally contain, for the most part, merely rebuttal of Hertel's alleged evidence, it must not be supposed that that is the whole story. An unbiast study of the entire Pañcatantra in all its older versions has convinst me that these theories are not only unproved, but unprovable. Everything points against them. Final conviction of this fact can only come from a survey of *all* the evidence, which is gathered in my Critical Apparatus. I think that anyone who, with open mind, studies that evidence, can hardly fail to agree with me.

I. The supposed archetype "t."

What is meant by this "t"?—According to Hertel, he has proved "in für jeden Philologen einwandfreier Weise" (*Pañc.* p. 443) that all existing versions of the Pañcatantra go back to an archetype which showed certain definite corruptions

Incidentally, he emends all these passages in his edition of Tantrākhyāyika, making it read as he thinks the original Pañcatantra did, altho according to his own theory the Tantrākhyāyika must have had and retained these "corruptions" in his text. But let that pass. Hertel quotes (Tantrākhyāyika, Einleitung, p. 34 ff.) just seven cases in which he thinks corruptions of this "archetype t" can be found. They mostly concern very minor points—changes of one or two letters in a single word. In my opinion it is utterly unsound to base such sweeping conclusions on so little evidence, even if the points were individually reliable. But they are far from that. Let us consider the seven cases *seriatim*.

1. pratyāyito, T "A 149;" Reconstruction II § 62.—After the long conversation in which the crow sues for the friendship of the mouse, at last the mouse yields. The versions (see exact references in my Critical Apparatus) read:

T tac chrutvā hiranyo 'bravīt pratyarthito (so mss.) 'ham bhavatā tathā nāma.
SP hiranyakah pratyāyito 'ham bhavatā, bhavatu bhavadabhimatam.
H hiranyako bahir nihsrtyāha āpyāyito 'ham bhavatānena vacanāmrtena (After insertion:) tad bhavatu bhavato 'bhimatam (H Mu. adds eva).
Spl has a wholly different passage, reflected also in Pn, which however adds at the end of it abravīt bhadra, pratyāyito 'ham bhavatā.
So *cf.* perhaps 76 b krtvāśvāsam ca tena sah.
Ks (abbreviated equivalent of a much longer passage that includes this) sakhyam yatnena vidadhe tena visrabdham (Mańk. ms. te sa-, em. to nītvā, visrambham) ākhunā.
Sy Die Maus sprach: Ich will dich in Freundschaft annehmen, denn ich habe noch nie eine Bitte enttäuscht.
Ar (Cheikho) The mouse said: I accept your friendship, for never in any case have I withheld one in need from his necessity.

The reading of the T mss. would mean "I have been challenged (or, opposed) by your worship." It contains the word *pratyarthito*, which Hertel emends to *pratyāyito*, "I have been made confident (or, my trust has been won, or, possibly, I have been convinst, persuaded) by your worship." That the original Pañcatantra read *pratyāyito* here seems clear to me also. Both SP and Pn have the correct reading *pratyāyito*, which to my way of thinking is good evidence in itself. But since Hertel cannot allow any other version to have a more original reading than Tantrākhyāyika, he must needs show that their readings are "fortunate corrections" of a corruption found in their archetypes. How does he do this?

As for Pūrnabhadra, he simply asserts it, without a shadow even of an attempt to prove it. And this is "proof by strictest philological method!"

As for SP, his proof is most curious Hitopadeśa, the nearest relative of SP, has (as quoted above) *āpyāyito* This word "kommt in seinen Schriftzugen den anderen Lesarten so nahe, daß man wird annehmen mussen, es sei aus einer Korruptel hervorgegangen, die Nārāyana [the author of Hit] konjekturell besserte" (Tantr Einl p 35) Because Hitopadeśa has a secondary reading that comes fairly close to the original one, therefore its relative, SP, which has the original reading, must go back to an archetype which had a secondary one!! It seems to me that comment is hardly necessary on such argumentation

Coming now to Pahlavi Hertel assumes that it contains in the phrase "for I have never disappointed anyone's desire" (or the like), the equivalent of a Sanskrit word *prārthito*, instead of *pratyāyito* He then argues that Pa either had *pratyarthito* (as in T) in its Sanskrit archetype, and mistranslated it as if it were *prārthito*, or else that its Sanskrit archetype actually read *prārthito*, which is very close, at least, to *pratyarthito* Thus he seeks to show that Pa also goes back to a corrupt substitute for *pratyāyito*

Now, it is dangerous to argue so confidently about Pahlavi's rendering of a single, more or less vague word I would suggest that the following interpretation of Pahlavi's reading is at least as likely to be right as Hertel's Pahlavi (as quoted above) begins the speech of the mouse with the words "I accept your friendship" This is a reasonably close paraphrase of *pratyāyito 'ham bhavatā*, "You have won my confidence," or more literally "I have been made trustful by you" The following expression of Pahlavi, "for I have never disappointed anyone's desire," may also pass for a slight distortion of the following phrase of SP and H, *(tad) bhavatu bhavadabhimatam*, "(so) let what you desire be fulfilled" This is no more of a departure from the original than constantly occurs in Pa. Pa generalizes the particular statement of the original, but the word "desire" or "need," found persistently in all the Pa versions, may be more reasonably equated with the Sanskrit *abhimatam*, actually found in SP and H, than with the imaginary **prārthito*, not found in any Sanskrit version

Were it not for Hertel's unwillingness to recognize the possibility that any other version may preserve the original as against a corruption in T, I am confident that he would never have been led into such argumentation as the above To me, at least, it seems very clear that (1) *pratyāyito*, the correct reading, was inherited directly from the original Pañcatantra into the Ur-SP, into the archetype which Pn used here, and probably into the archetype of Pa, (2) H by a slight secondary corruption changed it into *āpyāyito*, with consequent further slight additions to the sentence, (3) T (at least our manuscripts of it) by a somewhat more markt change substituted *pratyarthito* for it —It is highly likely, too, that (4) So and Ks point to an archetype containing the correct *pratyāyito* (see their readings quoted above).

For a fuller discussion of this passage see my article, *AJP*, 36, 257 ff

2. The verse T II. 87; Reconstruction II vs 53.—This vs occurs only in T, SP, N, and Pn Therefore, like the preceding case (in which Hertel

quite ignores the Br versions), it would prove nothing as to an archetype of *all* the versions, even if Hertel were right about it At most it could only prove something about a common archetype of T, SP (N), and Pn But it proves nothing of the sort The verse reads, in my reconstruction

> tasya krte budhah ko *nu* kuryāt karma vigarhitam
> yasyā 'nubandhah *pāpīyān adhonistho* vipadyate

The italicized words are not certain Variants a, Pn *tasyāh krte*, T *tasyārthe ko nu vibudhah*, SP ed *krtī kas ca* (α *tathā krte* or *tatkrtena*) *bu° ko 'tra*, N also *'tra* for *nu*, otherwise as text b, N *vigarhanam* c, Pn (and T ed by em) *'nubandhāt* (T mss as text) Pn *pāpisthām*, SP *sarvārthah*, SPα *parārthah*, N *pārārthyah* d, Pn *naro nisthām prapad°*, SP, N *sa evārhah krtī pumān* (N *sudhīh*)

The variations are, it will be noted, more extensive than usual In addition to those mentioned, T transposes the two half-stanzas, putting our cd before ab Hertel says on this subject "Da aber im Sanskrit der Relativsatz *gewohnlich* vorausgeht, so ist Sār [i e T] in diesem Punkte *sicher* ursprunglich" The italics are mine, they call attention to the value of the word "sicher" in Hertel's vocabulary On the contrary, the very fact that the relative clause usually precedes makes it easy to see how a verse originally composed with the relative clause *following* might naturally be changed, in a secondary version, to the more normal order The principle of the *lectio facilior* is familiar enuf It is not so easy to conceive a later version (or, as I believe, two independent versions, SP and Pn) changing from the *usual* to the *unusual* order

As to the variations in the words of the stanza the first half verse is establisht by the agreement of Pn with the unrelated N (Pn merely has *tasyāh* for *tasya*, misinterpreting the word as referring to the word *sevā* in the preceding vs, and N changes *vigarhitam* to *vigarhanam*) In the second half verse the versions all vary more or less, but the reading of T (mss) makes good sense Hertel's emendation *anubandhāt* is not called for, SP and N agree with the reading of the T mss and this is quite correct The word means "consequence," not either "Anhang" or "Absicht" The noun to be supplied with *tasya* and *yasya* (none of the versions express it) is something like "body" or "life," as is shown by the preceding context The verse means "What wise man, pray, would perform a repulsive action for the sake of that, the consequence of which is evil and comes to naught when it gets to the lower world [after death]?"

There is, then, no reason to question the correctness of T's reading in pāda c (T's a) But even if Hertel were right in thinking that *anubandhāt* must be read for *anubandhah*, it would not prove that the archetype of all versions was corrupt, nor even the archetype of T, SP, and Pn, which alone have this vs For Pn has the reading which Hertel believes to have been original He must have got it from somewhere It remains for Hertel to prove that he "restored" an original reading "happily," after finding a corrupt reading in his archetype

From the fact that Spl and Pa do not contain this verse Hertel strangely concludes that it was corrupt in their archetypes But both Spl and Pa omit a great many verses of the original They furnish absolutely no basis for such an inference

3. bhojanam, T p. 60, l. 9; Reconstruction I § 570 —In the story of the Iron-eating Mice (I 15) a rich merchant cheats his poor friend of some iron which had been left on deposit, telling the owner that the mice had eaten it The owner pretends to believe it The lying merchant's further course is described in T thus

asāv api suparihrstahrdayah (β paritusta°) pādyādipurahsarām tasya pūjām kartum ārabdhavān bhojanam ca prārthitavān

The Syriac has Jener aber freute sich, daß ihm der Kaufmann Glauben schenkte Und nachdem er ihn eingeladen, an dem Tage in seinem Hause zu speisen,—&c (Arabic similarly)

Nothing remotely resembling the last clause is found in any other version except Somadeva, which reads prārthayām āsa ca tato vanijo 'smāt sa bhojanam, so 'pi samtusya tat tasmāi pradātum pratyapadyata

The words which concern us are *bhojanam ca prārthitavān* in the Tantrākhyāyika Taken in the most natural sense, they would seem to mean (as Hertel rightly says) "and [the rich man] askt [the poor man] for food" Of course this is nonsense, this cannot be what the passage was intended to mean It seems impossible to assume a change of subject, unless a word has fallen out, the subject of *prārthitavān* must be the same as that of the immediately preceding *ārabdhavān*, namely, the rich man But if the rich man is the subject, then the meaning must obviously be "and invited him to a meal" And this is exactly what the Pahlavi has!

So far I am in agreement with Hertel; it is scarcely conceivable that the Tantrākhyāyika *intends* any other meaning than that which the Pahlavi has Now, says Hertel, we must then understand *prārthay* in the sense of *nimantray*, ["ask" =] "invite," a sense in which it seems to be otherwise unrecorded, but which to English speaking persons will not seem a violent change of meaning, in view of the fact that our verb "ask" is so used I think Hertel is right in this too But when Hertel proceeds to assert that we must emend *bhojanam* to *bhojane*, because *nimantray* "invite" is regularly construed with the locative, I cannot follow him. We are assuming a hitherto unknown meaning for the verb *prārthay*, how can we know what its construction would be? Is it not *a priori* quite conceivable that the accusative of the goal should be used after a verb of summoning or inviting? You invite a person *to* a meal Hertel seems to me to strain at a gnat after swallowing a camel, it is really much more of an act of faith to accept the meaning he assumes for *prārthay* than to allow the use of the accusative after it

The exceptional sense in which *prārthay* is used here (if Hertel is right) may be assumed to be the reason for Somadeva's rewriting of the passage in such a way as to make the poor man really "ask" (= beg, *bitten*) the rich man for food (*bhojanam*, note the *accusative* in Somadeva!) This

cannot be original if the Pahlavi is original, and, as I have indicated, it seems clear to me (as to Hertel) that Tantrākhyāyika supports Pahlavi.

I therefore agree with Hertel as to the interpretation of this passage, but not as to the necessity for emendation of the Tantrākhyāyika manuscripts. But even if he were right on that point, even if we had to assume that the Ur-Pañcatantra read *bhojane*, what right has Hertel to assume that the *Pahlavi* goes back to a corrupt archetype? The Pahlavi has exactly the meaning which Hertel says the original must have had. What possible ground is there for asserting that this correct meaning rests on a "glückliche Besserung," rather than on an inheritance of the correct reading from the Ur-Pañcatantra directly? Hertel states none whatever. Of course there is none—unless you regard as already proved the very proposition which Hertel is trying to prove. In short, Hertel argues in a perfect circle without realizing it. One is again constrained to assume that Hertel would not have hit upon this curious view that Pahlavi must go back to a corruption that had been changed back again to the original reading, were it not for his desire to show that all texts of the Pañcatantra must be at least as corrupt as T in every case. Since he believes (wrongly, in my opinion) that T is here corrupt, therefore Pa must rest on a "glückliche Besserung," otherwise we should have Pa preserving the original better than T, and that would never do!

4. The tree-oracle, T p. 57, l. 15 ff.; Reconstruction I § 547.—This concerns the emendation—clever and plausible enuf—which Hertel makes in T's text of Dharmabuddhi's speech after the fake oracle has declared him guilty of theft. On this passage see my Critical Apparatus *ad loc.* Whatever the true text of Tantrākhyāyika may have been at this point, it seems to me that there is no reason whatever for assuming its originality as against the agreement of the other versions. On the contrary, T's version sounds very bizarre and badly constructed. Hertel's only argument in its favor seems to be that after the supposed oracle has declared Dharmabuddhi guilty, he must pretend to confess guilt before taking action leading to a demonstration of his innocence. I do not know where Hertel gets this extraordinary legal principle. I have never heard of it, in Hindu law or any other. It seems to me clear that Tantrākhyāyika has a secondary version at this point. Ksemendra follows T, the other versions all agree substantially, with the minor exceptions noted in my discussion of the passage, *l. c.*

At any rate, it is begging the whole question to assume, as Hertel does, that because the other versions have no mention of a snake in this passage, therefore they must go back to a text which agreed with the T mss. in having the supposedly corrupt reading *aham*, which Hertel would emend to *ahim*. Hertel forgets that in the same passage, further down, the T mss. contain the uncorrupt and unmistakable word *kṛṣṇasarpam*. According to his theory, then, the other versions must have ignored *this* word, tho it was not corrupted. Their failure to mention the snake, therefore, cannot possibly be due merely to the supposed corruption of *ahim* to *aham*. Such a theory would have to explain why they ignored *kṛṣṇasarpam*

5. The crocodile and the ape, T A286; Reconstruction IV § 36.—On this see page 102 below It concerns another passage in which Hertel emends the mss of T, and assumes that all other versions must go back to an at least equally corrupt archetype I shall show, on the contrary that the entire clause containing the word in question is probably an interpolation in T, and that at any rate there is no reason to prefer T's text to that of the other versions, quite the contrary But since there is in the other texts no trace whatever of this passage in T, whether corrupt or uncorrupt, there is certainly no reason for assuming that they all go back to the *corrupt* version of it All the texts frequently omit original passages where there is not the slightest reason to assume corruptions

6. The verse T III. 125; Reconstruction III vs 107.—This verse, which occurs only in T, SP, N, and Pn (so that again it could prove nothing for an archetype of "all" versions), is very violently emended by Hertel, in a way which results in a destruction of what seems to me the obvious intent For the readings, see my Critical Apparatus The preceding prose (III § 300) says "Royalty goes with [belongs to, comes naturally to] a man who is generous, wise, and heroic" This verse then proceeds "When a man is generous, heroic, and wise, people [retainers, attendants, subjects] attach themselves to him and these 'people' constitute his superiority One who has [this] superiority gets riches, from riches comes fortune [majesty, *śrī*], one who has fortune has authority, and from that comes royalty" It seems to me clear that the three qualities of generosity, wisdom, and heroism are the joint starting-point of the logical development leading to royalty All versions, as we have them, support this view Hertel, by inserting in pāda a the word *vidyā*, utterly destroys this logical development by making "wisdom," one of the three coordinates, develop *out of* the other two, "heroism" and "generosity" His "emendation" results in the following meaning "When a man is generous and heroic he gets wisdom [! a curious dictum!], in a man who is wise and intelligent virtues acquire their real value" &c (reading with T in the second pāda) Why does a man who is generous and heroic necessarily get wisdom?

As to the readings of the several texts Pūrnabhadra has the correct reading in the first pāda, SP and T spoil the meter by omitting *ca* (by haplography?—the next word begins with the syllable *va-*, which is very like *ca* in Devanāgarī and not unlike it in Śāradā) The correct reading in the second pāda is furnisht by SPα and N, largely supported by Pn. In c all texts agree In d T and Pn have the correct reading, apparently, altho possibly the readings of SPα and N might be considered

Accordingly, my opinion of this stanza is that the "emendation" which Hertel would make in the texts of the versions that contain this verse is nothing but a "Schlimmbesserung," which spoils the apparent original sense of the verse In spite of the divergences of the various texts, each pāda is correctly preserved in some one of them, at least

7. The vs T I. 174; Reconstruction I vs 163.—Here Hertel apparently assumes (SP p. LVI f) two corruptions of his "t," namely, in pāda b the

unmetrical *bhavitavyam* for *bhāvyam*, and in pāda c *anugamyo* for *anukampyo* (For the readings of all texts see my Critical Apparatus)

As to the first the āryā meter requires *bhāvyam*, not *bhavitavyam* All mss of T nevertheless read *bhavitavyam* Four mss of SPα read likewise All other (twelve) mss of SP, including *several* of SPα, and *one of them*, K, *the oldest and best* according to Hertel, read correctly *bhāvyam* N, the nearest relative of SP, also has *bhāvyam*, so has Pn The verse occurs nowhere else in Sanskrit Will anyone believe that on the basis of the corruption *bhavitavyam* in T and four SPα mss, Hertel assumes that this corruption must have been in the archetype of *all* Pañcatantra versions, ignoring the correct reading of all the other versions? It sounds incredible, but this is just what he says Note especially that the ms K of SP has *bhāvyam*, and compare the following

Secondly *anukampyo* is read by Tβ, Pn, and N (with the slight corruption *anukampo* in N) It is supported as to meaning by the Pahlavi (Old Syriac, "lass dir's leid tun um ihn") Tα has *anugamyo*, SP *adhigamyo* (v l of α *abhi*°, K, the "best ms," *anugamyo*) As to this Hertel says "durch K scheint auch das *anugamyo* des 3 Pada in Śār [= T]α fur den Archetypos von SP *gesichert*" (Italics mine) Compare this with Hertel's conclusion about the preceding question, *bhavitavyam* or *bhāvyam*, and what do we find? There SP's ms K with eleven others read *bhāvyam*, correctly, but never mind, the incorrect *bhavitavyam* is certainly the reading of the SP archetype—because we *must* show that the archetype was incorrect, lest Tantrākhyāyika appear less correct than another version Here, the ms K is the *only* SP ms which has the reading *anugamyo*, and the Nepalese has the correct reading *anukamp[y]o* But since Tα has *anugamyo*, the reading of the single ms K is *this time* enuf to make *anugamyo* "gesichert" for the SP archetype! Perfect agreements of half a dozen versions outside of the Tantrākhyāyika mean nothing at all, but the agreement of a single ms of one subrecension of one version, with the sacred Tantrākhyāyika α (altho Tβ agrees with the others), is enuf—even if it is a bad reading—to establish absolutely the archetype of all of them!

I need hardly say that in my opinion the evidence shows clearly that the archetype of "all versions" read *bhāvyam* in b, with all versions except T and a few SP mss, and *anukampyo* in c, with Tβ, Pn, N, and Pa (at least three independent sources), while the variant *anugamyo* of Tα and the variants *adhigamyo* &c, and (in one case) *anugamyo*, of various SP mss, are corruptions.

Summary and conclusion regarding "t."—Of the seven cases adduced by Hertel in support of his corrupt archetype "t"

The first concerns a secondary reading in T alone The correct reading is found in SP, Pn, a different corruption in H; Pa and Bi are uncertain but indicate, if anything, that they go back to the correct and original reading

The second concerns what is not really a corruption at al the reading of the mss of T (supported by SP) is correc Hertel merely failed to understand it The transposition of th two half-verses in T is secondary The verse in question is foun only in T, SP, N, Pn, and therefore could prove nothing fo an archetype of "all versions"

The third also concerns what is probably no corruption i T In any case Pa's version is correct in meaning and ther is no reason to assume a corruption in it or its archetyp Besides T and Pa the passage occurs only in So and can there fore prove nothing for an archetype of "all versions"

The fourth concerns what is in all probability a secondar expansion in T, otherwise found only in Kṣ The corruptio which Hertel assumes in the T mss would not, in any case explain the different versions of the other texts That is, eve if T is original, the other texts do not indicate descent fro the *corrupt* version of that original which exists in the T ms according to Hertel

The fifth also concerns what is in all probability a secondar expansion in T It will be shown later that T is certainly ur original, and inconsistent with itself, in the context at th point The other versions agree closely in sense and there i no reason to doubt their originality As in the preceding case there is, anyhow, no reason for supposing that the other text are connected in any way with the corrupt version of the mss, even if Hertel were otherwise right in his reasoning

The sixth again concerns a passage which Hertel misunder stands His assumption as to what the original read is impos sible There is no common corruption in the versions Th passage too occurs only in T, SP, N, and Pn, so that it coul prove nothing for an archetype of "all versions."

The seventh concerns two words in a single verse, foun only in T, SP, N, Pn, and Pa The first word is found correctl in all versions but T (and a few mss of SP). The second wor is found correctly in Tβ, Pn, N, and the archetype of Pa; is changed only in Tα and SP, and only one ms. of SP ha the same change as Tα

Such is the evidence from which Hertel draws such sweep ing conclusions! In four of the seven cases (1, 2, 3, and 7

of the supposed corruptions, Hertel himself assumes "glückliche Besserungen" in at least one, and usually several, versions This is enuf to make us suspicious In two of the others (4 and 5) the agreement of the non-T versions is purely negative, they do *not* have a passage found in T in which Hertel assumes a corruption, and he assumes that they left it out, or substituted something else, *because* it was corrupt in their archetype (of course a gratuitous assumption, since there is no version that does not frequently leave out minor details in which there is no reason to suspect corruption) The remaining case (6) is the one and only case in which all versions containing the passage (namely T, SP, N, and Pn, not "all Pañcatantra versions!") agree positively on a reading which Hertel thinks is corrupt, but I think, on the contrary, that if they agreed in reading Hertel's "emendation," we should almost be justified in discarding it, so improbable is it

Not one case offers even plausible grounds for assuming the archetype "t," or for supposing that all existing versions go back to a corrupt archetype

II. The supposed archetype "K".

What is meant by the archetype "K"?—A much more important matter than "t," because its consequences are far more disastrous, is Hertel's opinion that all Pañcatantra versions except Tantrākhyāyika,—to wit, SP, N, H, So, Ks, Pa, and Spl and Pn except where they borrowed from T,—go back to a single archetype, called "K," which differed from the archetype of T and in particular contained certain definite corruptions Hertel further believes that Tβ was to some extent contaminated with an offshoot of this "K," so that only Tα is wholly independent of it If true, this would obviously be of the utmost importance for weighing the evidence of the Pañcatantra versions and reconstructing the original If true, it would utterly vitiate my reconstruction, for agreements between all the other versions would be only equal in weight, for the purposes of the reconstruction, to the evidence of Tantrākhyāyika α alone That is precisely what Hertel claims. As to the means of proving it, he seems to recognize that it is necessary to demonstrate common *changes* or corruptions in all of these versions No

amount of agreements in original inheritances would prove anything Furthermore, it is, or should be, clear that the *same* change must be demonstrated in all the versions in question in order to have demonstrative force And I should add it must be a change which could not easily be supposed to have occurred independently It is likewise my opinion that a very considerable number of such common corruptions would be required to demonstrate Hertel's point In both of these two latter respects it will be seen that Hertel's demonstration is seriously lacking But furthermore, I hope to be able to show that Hertel's cases are individually unsound I think that all of them permit, and most of them demand, other interpretations I shall now proceed to consider one by one the cases which Hertel thinks support his hypothesis of an archetype "K"

1. The ape and the crocodile; Book IV, frame, particularly T A 286; Reconstruction IV § 36.—In my above-mentioned article, *AJP* 36 259 ff, I have discust this passage at length Except for one point, which I shall mention presently, I believe that all I say there is sound, and to save space I shall try to be briefer here The main point is that in all versions except T the crocodile invites the monkey to come to his own house, which (in Pa and the Jain versions) is located on a lovely island where there are beautiful trees full of luscious fruits This Hertel considers absurd, because the crocodile's house "liegt ja im Wasser" (How does Hertel know this? In Pa and Jn, on the contrary, the crocodile distinctly states that his house was on the island Suppose this was a lie, what does that matter? How could the ape know where the crocodile's home was?)—In T, on the other hand, the crocodile says (A 286, Reconstruction IV § 36) *yo 'yam antardvīpakaḥ samudramadhye, atra mayābhinavayāuvana-sampannā rūpavatyas tisro nāryo* (so mss., Hertel emends to *vānaryo*) *dṛṣṭapūrvāḥ* (read probably *'dṛ°*?) *prativasanti sma, amṛtasvādatulyāḥ kalpavṛkṣasadṛśās taravaḥ tatrāham tvām pṛṣṭham āropya prāpayāmīti* —In the other versions there is no mention of the three "she-apes" (? mss "women," "females"). This is another of the "corruptions" which Hertel ascribes to his "t," and assumes to have been in the archetype of all the versions (see p 98) The sense of the above passage is closely reproduced in both Pa and the Jain versions, except that the clause about the *nāryo* (or *vānaryo*) is omitted Hertel assumes that the redactor of "K" found it in his archetype "t," but left it out because with the corrupt reading *nāryo* it made poor sense Since that time it has been pointed out by a pupil of mine, Miss Ruth Norton, that this clause is evidently a close imitation of a clause which occurs in the story of the Ass without Heart and Ears (IV 1), see my Critical Apparatus on IV § 65 At that place, IV § 65, the sentence is supported by other versions, and clearly belongs to the original Here it seems to me equally clear, after

Miss Norton's observation, that T has borrowed the sentence (with very slight adaptations) from that place. Such borrowings from one Pañcatantra story into another occur elsewhere (*e. g.* in T itself, see my Critical Apparatus on I § 537, and p. 178 below), but are never to be attributed to the original Pañcatantra, I think, since they never occur in more than one version. The original Pañcatantra was not guilty of any such poverty of invention; it did not need to borrow from itself.

Hertel tries, to be sure, to maintain that this motivation of the crocodile's trick is for other reasons the only one which the original can have had. He thinks that SP refers to it in the ape's later lamentation (after he had discovered the trick), our § 42 and vs. 14. But *rāga* and *rāgin* (vs. 14, *cf.* Hertel, Tantr. Einl. p. 90) do not necessarily mean "Geschlechtsliebe" and "die Verliebten," as Hertel renders them in order to carry his point. The Pahlavi versions (the only ones which have preserved an equivalent of vs. 14 besides SP and N) speak only of "greediness," and that is clearly what SP means by *rāga*, since in SP there has been no hint of the sex motif. It is greediness for the *delicious fruits* of § 36 that is referred to, just as in the Jātaka version of the same story, which knows only *fruits* as tempting objects, not *females*.

For these reasons I now think that there is not a shadow of ground for believing that the original Pañcatantra had any mention of the sex motif as used by the crocodile in seducing the ape. *No version of this widespread story has such a motif*, so far as I know (in spite of Hertel, *op. cit.* p. 90, for the story of Pariśistaparvan II. 720 ff. is clearly a "Tar-Baby" story — as Hertel himself indicates elsewhere, see Dahnhardt, *Natursagen*, 4. 27 ff. — and is not in any way connected with this motif). Correct accordingly my tentative admission, *AJP.* 36. 261, top, when I wrote that; I was still too much imprest by Hertel's confident assertions.

The rest of my remarks *l. c.* are devoted to pointing out that Hertel in his haste overlookt an important fact about the Tantrākhyāyika, which breaks down the keystone of his arch, and incidentally proves that the Tantrākhyāyika, so far from being the "only correct version," is here obviously corrupt and inconsistent with itself—a very bitter pill for Hertel to swallow! The great superiority of T over the other versions consists, according to Hertel, in the fact that T does not, like them, make the "absurd proposal" that the ape should come to the crocodile's house. It is indeed true that no such words occur in the crocodile's speeches in T. But in T "A 284," our IV §§ 32 and 33, the *ape* is represented as saying to the crocodile: *yac ca bhavatābhihitam, gṛhagamanadārādarśanātithikapātrābhisambandhī mayā bhavān na kṛtaḥ* &c. These words are simple nonsense as the T stands, for the crocodile had said no such thing. But they prove, for one who has eyes, that T goes back to a version which *did* represent the crocodile as inviting the ape to come to his house,—yes, and to see his wife too (which Hertel thinks is a peculiarly inept idea). Either (1) words to this effect must have originally been put into the crocodile's mouth before this point (and been lost in T); or (2)—and this seems to me much more likely, as shown by the other

versions, q. v. in my Critical Apparatus—this passage of T, just quoted, represents the very language originally spoken by the crocodile, and T is corrupt only in attributing it to the ape (I assume that T lost, by a lacuna, our IV § 32, which the Pahlavi preserves, and in which the crocodile begins to speak; also our IV vs 8, of which reflexes are found in Pa and So; and that then T tried to patch up our § 33, originally a part of the crocodile's speech, by inserting *yac ca bhavatābhihitam*, so as to make it fit in the ape's mouth, the redactor failing to note that the crocodile had *not* said anything like the words which he makes the ape quote from the crocodile. Note that T's text has two serious gaps, which Hertel also recognizes, almost immediately after this place. Evidently the archetype of all our T mss. was fragmentary in this vicinity.)

To summarize: instead of proving that all versions except T go back to a single corrupt archetype at this point, the passage proves that most of them are superior to T in two respects: (1) They present the crocodile's invitation to the ape to visit his house in a rational and consistent form, whereas T (does not leave it out, as Hertel hastily asserts, but) presents it in a *verballhornt* form, grossly inconsistent with itself. (2) They agree with the Jātakas and other versions of the story in making the motif that seduced the ape a desire for luscious fruits, not for sexual gratification. T's sentence referring to the latter motif was clearly not in the original and was almost certainly borrowed from a passage in the story of the Ass without Heart and Ears.[2]

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[2] In closing his discussion of this passage, Tantr. Einl. p. 94f., Hertel alludes briefly to a few other points which he seems to think support his "K" hypothesis. (1) In Reconstruction IV § 41, in various "K" versions, the crocodile tells the ape that physicians and exorcists have recommended an ape's heart to cure his wife. In IV § 24 the wife's friend had told the crocodile that this remedy was "a matter of secret knowledge among women" (this statement also in T). Hertel strangely regards this as an inconsistency in the "K" versions. Of course it is nothing of the kind. In his over-eagerness to make a point, Hertel, as in many other cases, quite loses sight of the realities of the situation. In § 24 the wife's friend is deceiving the crocodile; in § 41 the crocodile is deceiving the ape; in both cases a fraud is being practist. In reality the crocodile's wife was not sick at all, unless "heartsick" with jealousy of her husband. *No one* had really prescribed an ape's heart for her. The two different allegations are both perfectly suited to the different situations, and both are undoubtedly parts of the original Pañcatantra; the failure of T to preserve § 41 is doubtless due to the fragmentary state of its mss., and is in any case a secondary omission. The female friend, speaking to the crocodile, naturally alleges that the remedy of the ape's heart is a feminine secret; that is an argument to which a mere male can have no reply, whereas if she had attributed it to physicians, the fraud might have been discovered by the crocodile. But when the crocodile speaks of the matter to the ape, he naturally would not admit that he was proposing to kill his friend on the

2. The verse T II. 90; Reconstruction II vs 55.—This verse is found only in T, Pn, and the offshoots of Ur SP (SP, N, H), no trace of it occurs in Pa, So, Ks, or Spl Accordingly it could prove nothing for an archetype of "all versions except T" The reading clearly indicated for the original is

> na svalpam apy adhyavasāyabhīroh karoti vijñānavidhir gunam hi
> andhasya kim hastatalasthito 'pi nivartayaty artham iha pradīpah

Thus, with variants which need not concern us now (see Crit App, I agree with Hertel that the readings just quoted are indicated for the original of SP, N, H, and Pn), all versions but T T reads *avyavasāya*° in a, and *āndhyam* for *artham* in d These variations, as Hertel points out, apparently originate in graphic confusions due to the Śāradā alphabet Anyone but Hertel would consider it a natural inference, then, that they originated in the only recension known to exist in Śāradā mss, namely T Hertel, on the contrary, thinks they indicate that all the other versions go back to a Śāradā original, a hypothesis for which there is not a scintilla of real evidence, and which is most improbable —Hertel finds the readings of T obviously superior I cannot agree The SP-N-H-Pn version means "The acquisition of knowledge does not confer the least advantage upon one who is afraid to take a firm stand Does a light confer any advantage upon a blind man here, even tho it be placed in the palm of his hand?" The T version means "The acquisition upon one who is *irresolute and* fearful Does a light *remove the blindness* of a blind man" &c The T redactor read *artham* as **antham* (which is graphically close to it in Śāradā), and under the influence of the preceding word *andhasya* assumed a mistake for *āndhyam*, "blindness," this was accompanied by a reinterpretation of *nivartayaty* in the sense of "remove," which the word may also have There is no reason whatever for preferring T's reading to that of the other texts For a fuller discussion, see *AJP* 36 262 ff

3. The verse T II. 25; Reconstruction II vs 15.—The verse is found in all texts but So and Ks It reads

> śatrunā na hi samdadhyāt suślistenāpi samdhinā
> sutaptam api pānīyam śamayaty eva pāvakam

The only variants are in a, Spl *vāninā*, T *śatrunāpi na*°, in c, T *ataptam* (ms R *ātaptam*) Pa's version supports that of the majority of Sanskrit texts —"With an enemy one should not ally himself, not even with a very close alliance Water, even tho heated very hot, still puts out fire" The heating of water very hot constitutes a very close approach to the

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basis of an "old wives' tale", he attributes the prescription to reputable medical authorities —(2) All the remaining passages referred to *l c* concern features of the original which have disappeared or been changed in T I do not see how Hertel can imagine that they prove anything except the imperfection of Tantrākhyāyika Every one of the features concerned fits its context admirably, as Hertel seems tacitly to admit

nature of fire—as close as water is capable of—and is therefore metaphorically referred to as "a very close alliance" with fire In spite of such a "close alliance," water puts out fire So alliance, however close, with a natural enemy is dangerous —The T reading can have sense only by understanding *ataptam* punningly as "not injured," "water, even tho not heated (not injured), still puts out fire" But the point of *sushṭenāpi saṃdhinā*, "*even* (note the emphatic *api*) with a very close alliance," is surely more in keeping with the other version Nothing is said in the first half verse about not *injuring* an ally

In *WZKM* 25 13 ff Hertel reconsiders this verse (replying to a suggestion from Thomas, which I agree with Hertel in considering untenable) He adds nothing of moment to his previous arguments He seems to me to miss the point of the verse altogether It is not necessary to suppose that a benefit is considered as being done to the water by being heated, nor that the root *tap* is used of a friendly action The point is simply and solely that a man who tries to form a close alliance with his natural enemy is likened to fire trying to ally itself with water The heating of the water is metaphorically spoken of as an attempt to make water like fire in its nature The attempt must be unsuccessful, water still puts out fire So, no matter how much a man may try (by a "close alliance") to assimilate his enemy to himself, the enemy will still injure him

4. Huskt or unhuskt sesame? Story II. 2.—This is the only other case (? cf however No 5, below) advanst by Hertel in favor of his archetype "K" in his first statement of the case (Tantr Einl p 28 ff) We are here confronted by a serious problem, no possible solution of which is free from difficulties For a complete discussion see *AJP* 36 266 ff, and my Critical Apparatus on Reconstruction II vs 27 Here I shall merely state the general facts

(a) The catch-verse (II vs 27) to the Sesame story, II 2, *seems* to have originally referred to the exchange of *huskt* for *huskt* sesame This is, in my opinion, not certain, but probable So T reads, and also certain offshoots of Spl, the other Sanskrit versions are all non-committal and do not mention either "huskt for huskt" or "huskt for unhuskt" Only Pa has "huskt for unhuskt" According to Hertel, the verse read "huskt for huskt" not only in the Ur-Pañcatantra, but also in his "K," which thus is not claimed to have been corrupt at this point The verse, therefore, does not concern us directly

(b) In the prose story, after the huskt sesame has been defiled, the house-wife sends a boy (or, in some versions, goes herself) to exchange them For what? According to § 132, probably for "black sesame" (*kṛṣṇatilāih*, T), her allegation was to be that she had changed her mind and wanted to make something of "black sesame," instead of the "white sesame" which she had In T—but only in T, so that there is no good reason for supposing it to be original—the boy adds (after our II § 133) the injunction that the "black sesame" must also be huskt, since the white sesame which is offered in exchange is huskt (Note that the *woman* is not said to have given such instructions in T.) Now, in SP's version

of § 132, we find the phrase *ghṛṣṭatilāis tilān parigṛhītvā*, corresponding to T's *imāns tilān (luñcitān api) kṛṣṇatilāiḥ parāvartayitvā*. The verbal correspondence is sufficiently close to suggest that there has been a phonetic confusion between *kṛṣṇa°* and *ghṛṣṭa°*. SP's text means "getting in exchange sesame *for* [this] *huskt sesame*." Still there is nothing to indicate whether the sesame to be received in exchange was to be huskt or unhuskt. (The SPα mss have a different reading, which is clearly secondary, since more remote from the original, here represented by T.)

(c) But once the word *ghṛṣṭatila* was introduced, displacing the presumably original *kṛṣṇa°*, the motive to be alleged for the exchange (black for white) was lost. Since *ghṛṣṭa* means "rubbed" or the like, and so "huskt," it was a natural further change to make the woman offer this huskt sesame in exchange for unhuskt, hoping thus by offering a bargain to get an exchange. This is what SP does; in § 134 we find it reading *aghṛṣṭatilāir ghṛṣṭā gṛhyante*. It is worthy of note—and seems to have escaped Hertel's attention—that T reads in our § 134, in place of the phrase just quoted from SP, *samārghās tilā mayā labdhāḥ, śuklāḥ kṛṣṇāiḥ*. Not *luñcitā luñcitāiḥ*! Even in T's version the main point is, not "huskt for huskt," but "white for black,"—in so far as it has any sort of correspondents in the other versions. Only in the evident insertion mentioned in my Crit. App. on § 133 is emphasis laid on the "huskt for huskt" idea, and this is hardly consistent with T itself in § 134, where the main point is "white for black."

(d) In short, nowhere in the *original* prose—as indicated by the substantial agreements of T and SP (allowing for the latter's phonetic corruption)—is there any mention of either "huskt for huskt" or "huskt for unhuskt." This is the case also with So and Ks, which as usual are very much abbreviated (So even more than usual, so much so that Hertel assumes a lacuna in its archetype, but this is very unlikely, I think, see p. 117 below). The Jain versions are, as often, quite independent, and in them we find the trade spoken of clearly as "huskt for unhuskt." The exchange of different colors is wholly eliminated. So also Pa. But both Jn and Pa differ so radically from T and SP at this point that we cannot use them for the reconstruction. All that is clear is that they have wholly changed their originals. See footnote 3, page 108, for a possible explanation of their alteration.

(e) The ambiguity of the original prose, as regards the point whether the sesame was to be huskt or not, made it very easy for later versions to forget, or alter, the catch-verse, and represent the woman as offering huskt sesame for unhuskt. This is exactly analogous to the motif of "new lamps for old," familiar to us all from the famous story of Aladdin in the Arabian Nights. Obviously, to an oriental mind at least, this must be a natural motif. We cannot, therefore, agree with Hertel when he scornfully rejects it as inconceivably stupid.

(f) I hold, therefore, that the story originally dealt with an exchange of "huskt for huskt" sesame, but that this was clearly stated only in the catch-verse, whereas the prose story spoke only of offering white

for black sesame[3] The Ur-SP, Ur-Spl, and the archetype of Pa, by independent and verbally quite different variations, changed the story (in SP probably owing to a merely phonetic corruption) to make it fall in with the familiar motif illustrated by the "new lamps for old" of Aladdin

(g) At the same time I should be willing to grant that this is the *kind* of agreement between SP, Spl, and Pa, which would, if found in sufficient numbers, tend to justify Hertel's assumption of their secondary connexion. It is, however, the *only one* of this kind, with the possible exception of No 9 below, so far presented by Hertel, all his other cases are illusory And it would require not one, but *dozens,* of such cases to prove the point It is easy to find just as strong evidence as this which, if considered alone, could be made to prove interrelation between absolutely *any* two Pañcatantra versions Because of the lack of other supporting evidence of the same sort, it seems clear to me that we are dealing in this case with a mere chance coincidence between several independent versions, of the sort which we find in abundance thruout the Pañcatantra Hertel surely has no right to object to this hypothesis, since he repeatedly assumes that agreements between several versions, *even when they correctly represent the original Pañcatantra,* are due to "glückliche Besserungen" and are therefore purely fortuitous

5. Other evidence for "K" in Hertel, Tantr. Einl. p. 31?—From Hertel's language on p 31 of the introduction to his translation of Tantrākhyāyika, it is perhaps to be inferred (tho the language is not clear to me) that he regards the verses treated in the places there mentioned (in the introduction to his edition of SP) as evidence for this "K." These passages are the following

T vs I 125, Reconstruction I vs 124 The catch-verse of the story of Strandbirds and Sea I 9 The so-called "K" versions go back to an original which means "He who without knowing the *prowess* of the enemy picks a quarrel, comes to grief as the sea did from the strandbird" T alone reads *ākrandam* for *vikramam* (or the like), making it mean, according to Hertel "He who without knowing the *cry* [but see below!] of the enemy" &c The story is told by Damanaka to Samjīvaka by way of warning against undertaking to fight the lion The word "cry" in such a connexion seems a palpable absurdity to me Hertel tries to justify it —and even to insist that it is the only possible meaning for the original —by arguing that the strandbird, in the story, "cries" to Garuda, thru whose intervention Visnu helps him out This seems weak enuf at best

[3] It is *possible* that this was understood by later redactors as "huskt for unhuskt", that is, that the sesame was black with the husks on, but that the huskt kernels were white From information at my disposal it appears that there are various kinds of sesame, of different colors, some black on the outside and white inside, but some either white or black both outside and inside. The later versions which speak of "huskt for unhuskt" may have understood "white for black" in that sense, and this may be responsible for their change

it was not the "cry" of the bird that injured the sea, but in any case it seems to me to have no bearing on the question The verse must have a general application, besides its application to the story of the Strand-birds and Sea, and in particular it must be capable of application to the situation between the lion and the bull To suggest that the bull did not know the lion's "cry," or particularly his "cry for help" (!), is ridiculous And in fact that is not what Tantrākhyāyika means The word *ākranda* means not "cry" but "ally," a person upon whom one can call for help, especially against an unexpected attack in the rear (See the Kāutilīya Arthaśāstra, Bk 6, Ch 2 and Bk 7, Ch 4, 1st ed, pages 258 and 271) The Tantrākhyāyika is not so stupid as Hertel would make it It refers to the powerful *allies* and protectors of the strandbird But this fits the situation between the lion and the bull very poorly, the lion has no allies and needs none, against the bull It is his "prowess" which the bull has to fear

T vs I 155, Reconstruction I vs 146 —Here we find Tβ agreeing with SP and Pn against (what seems to me evidently) a *lectio facilior* of Tα and N Hertel, of course, thinks N a "gluckliche Besserung" See my Crit App *ad loc*, there I point out that N makes absolute nonsense with its reading, so that in N, at least, the reading (*sasañkasya*) which Hertel thinks is the only right one can only be a blundering *lectio facilior* This seems to me reasonable support for my opinion that the reading of all other versions—SP, Pn, and even Tβ—is the right one, and that Tα, like N, has a mere blunder

Hertel also refers *l c* to p LIX of the introduction to his edition of SP I find at that place an attempt on his part to prove that SP and H go back to a corrupt Śāradā archetype, but as Hertel does not even try to show that the supposed corruption concerns any texts except SP and H (both descendants of his "n—w," or what I call the Ur-SP), it is clear that they show nothing whatsoever about "K" I therefore do not understand Hertel's reference to this place in connexion with "K" and can only attribute it to carelessness on his part

This is the extent of the "evidence" advanst by Hertel for his "archetype K" in his Tantrākhyāyika translation Since that time, however, he has brought forward certain other passages which he thinks confirm his opinion It is necessary now to consider them

6. The verse T I. 19; Reconstruction I vs 21.—This is treated by Hertel *WZKM* 25 9 ff It is found in T, SP, N, Spl, Pn, and Pa My reconstruction reads

kopaprasādavastūni vicinvantaḥ samīpagāḥ
ārohanti śanāir bhrtyā dhunvantam api pārthivam

Thus, with minor variants (see my Crit App), all versions except T, which reads *dhūrtam tam* for *dhunvantam* SP ed reads *pārthivadrumam* (SPα as text) for *api pārthivam*, and this gives the key to the interpretation Ministers can gradually manage to "climb" a king (as a tree), "even tho he shakes (sways in the wind)" Hertel, however, maintains

that the T reading is the original, meaning "even tho he (the king) is sly" He also argues that the comparison is not with a tree, but with a mountain, because later on (I § 49) there occurs a speech in which, in the T version, kings are declared to be *durārohāh* as mountains, and Hertel sees in this an allusion, and an answer, to *ārohanti* of pāda c of this verse

In the first place, it seems rather questionable to take *dhūrta* in the sense of "sly, cunning" It usually means "rogue, cheat, scoundrel," which would not fit here

More important is the objection that § 49 can hardly be interpreted as a reply to this vs There intervene two prose sections and several verses dealing with wholly different subjects The verse we are considering is spoken by Damanaka, Karataka's immediate response is simply an inquiry as to what D plans to say to the lion If § 49 were Karataka's response to this stanza, it would be put next to it, or certainly would not be separated from it by so much unconnected matter Moreover in § 49 only T reads *durārohāh*, SP and both Jain versions read instead *durārādhyāh* (So *durāsadāh*), and this, in my opinion, proves that *durārādhyāh*, not *durārohāh*, was the original Pañcatantra reading in § 49 Therewith falls the verbal assonance with *ārohanti*, and the last prop for Hertel's theory

Hertel mentions the fact that the SPα mss read *dhūnvantam* for *dhun°*, and claims that this "false reading" contains in its long *ū* a relic of the original *dhūrtam*! The *ū* is of course not at all "false," from the earliest times to the latest the forms *dhūnoti* &c occur by the side of *dhunoti* &c

The interchange *dhunvantam dhūrtam tam* is, as Hertel notes, one which seems to be due to a confusion in the Śāradā alphabet This, *pace* Hertel, would suggest naturally that the change probably took place in the only Pañc recension which is known ever to have been written in Śāradā, namely, Tantrākhyāyika That is, T has changed *dhunvantam*— on every account to be regarded as the original reading—to *dhūrtam tam* by a corruption which is very easy and natural in Śāradā

7. The verse T II. 61; Reconstruction II vs 35.—In *WZKM* 25 23 Hertel refers to this as another instance of an inferior reading in "K" The verse is found only in SP, N, H, and Pn, besides T, so that it could prove nothing for an antecedent of Pa, Bi, and Spl —The variation referred to by Hertel is found in the fourth pāda of the verse, which reads in Tα

śete hakāra iva saṃkucitākhilāñgaḥ,

while all other versions, including Tβ (which Hertel thinks borrowed the vs from "K") read, with slight variations (see Crit App)

cānyaḥ kṣaṇena bhavatīty aticitram etat.

The thing which to my mind proves, contrary to Hertel's view, that Tα is secondary, is this The Tα mss add the supposed "K" reading of the pāda (with omission of the first word), in their text, immediately after the following prose sentence! In other words, the α mss have a doublet

of the pāda Evidently the progenitor of the α mss added one or the other reading in the margin, whence it was later copied into the text, without deletion of the alternative reading The only question is, which version was the original, and which the gloss? Were the matter not distorted in Hertel's mind by his mistaken opinion about the relationship of the versions, I feel sure that he would agree that the probabilities favor the version which is found in *both* groups of T mss And this probability is raised to a practical certainty by the fact that all the other Pañcatantra versions agree in having the reading which alone is found in Tβ, and which is also found, tho misplaced, in Tα —Both readings in this case make good sense, there is nothing to choose between them That *ūṣman* in pāda c is understood by the Tα version in the double sense of "breath," referring to the letter *h*, may well be But that does not prove that it was so understood originally On the contrary, this may suggest the origin of Tα's variant The redactor who composed or inserted the variant saw a good chance to make a pun, and, Hindu-like, could not resist it

8. End of Book IV.—In *Pañc* p 443 Hertel refers also to *WZKM* 25 36 f for an additional proof of "K" I am unable to find anything there which could possibly be considered as even a semblance of such proof Does Hertel refer to the end of Book IV, which he there discusses? If so, he must allude to the fact that the Pahlavi versions have obvious correspondences to certain parts of Tβ which are omitted in Tα at the end of Book IV Hertel *asserts* that these passages are secondary additions of "K," taken over thence into Tβ, and that the original Book IV ended as Tα does He does not even make an *attempt* to prove this statement, so I hardly know how to answer him There is certainly nothing inherently objectionable in the passages in question—no *a priori* reason for supposing them to be secondary If there were, we may be sure that Hertel would not have failed to point it out On the contrary, Tα's ending is so abrupt that it seems to me to indicate a probable loss of something No other *tantra* ends with a verse spoken by one character in the story to another, as does Tα here To me it seems clear that Tβ and Pa preserve parts of the original here, which Tα has lost By the way, since these parts are found only in Tβ and Pa, they would prove nothing for "K," archetype of all the *non*-T versions. Let Hertel not reply that the omission of these parts in the Ur-SP, the Jain versions, and the Br versions is an indication that they were not original! For according to his own theory, since they belonged to "K," they were found in the archetype of those versions, and should be found in them just as much as if they belonged to the original Pañcatantra, as I believe they did The fact is, of course, that the Ur-SP and Br versions are shortened as usual, and hence omit these passages (principally verses), while the Jain versions have lost them in their radical reconstruction of Book IV, especially the last part of it, which bears no resemblance to the original

9. The verse SP III. 32; Reconstruction III vs 44; and preceding prose.—This is the last of the cases which so far as I have been able

to discover in a careful study of Hertel's writings, he advances as proof of his "K" (His latest discussion of it is found in *ZDMG* 69 289 ff) It is also one of the most complicated of all the cases, and needs very careful discussion I shall first state the facts and probabilities of the case as they appear to me, upon earnest consideration of all the evidence and of Hertel's arguments After this I shall speak of Hertel's divergent views

The passage occurs in the story of the Elephant, Hares, and Moon (III 3), at the point where the clever hare first addresses the elephant-king Being invited to state his business the hare begins thus, according to my reconstruction (III § 64, middle, and vs 44)

śaśaka āha *jānāty eva bhavān, yathārthavādino dūtasya na doṣaḥ karaṇīyaḥ* (*dūtamukhā hi rājānaḥ sarva eva uktam ca*)

uddhṛteṣv api śastreṣu *dūto vadati nānyathā*
te vāi yatho*kta*vaktāro *na* vadhyāḥ *pṛthivī*bhujā 44

"You know already, Sir, that a messenger speaking according to his instructions must not be blamed (For kings, all of them, use messengers as their mouthpieces And it is said)

Even when weapons are raised [to fight], a messenger speaks not otherwise [than as instructed] Since they speak according to instructions, of course they must not be slain by a king"

As usual in my reconstruction, italics indicate what is not verbally certain in the original, parentheses enclose what *may* not have been in the original at all, even in general sense

Of the prose which I quoted before the verse, no Sanskrit version except T and Pn has a trace (beyond the words *śaśaka āha* or equivalent) The words *jānāty* *karaṇīyaḥ* are supported by T (both subrecensions) and, it seems to me, by Pa The words *dūtamukhā* *uktam ca* are found only in Pn, and are therefore enclosed in parentheses, there is reason to believe, however, that Tβ at least originally had something of the sort, tho it is hopelessly corrupt in our mss , and Pa *may* have had an equivalent The vs is found, as a verse, in SP, H, and Pn, correspondents also in Pa, and Tβ has a corrupt equivalent in prose, on which see below The variants are as follows

jānāty *karaṇīyaḥ* no variant in T or Pn Sy has no equivalent, but all offshoots of the Arabic agree in having what seems to be a clear correspondent E g KF p 136, l. 17 "and be not offended at the words of messengers (JCap et nulla est culpa nuncii), because a messenger is not to be blamed for what he is ordered to say, for as he hears so does he repeat the message," &c

dūtamukhā *uktam ca*, only Pn, except that Tβ has, corruptly, *uktam ca* [first ?], *dūtā hy* (mss corruptly *dūtādy* or *dyūtā hy*), then follows the equivalent of the verse, *uddhṛteṣv* &c This phrase *may* be represented in the Pahlavi versions, which as often mingle the next vs with the preceding prose, *cf* the passage just quoted from KF

Vs 44 in Tβ prose, see below, not in Tα. a, SP, H *udyateṣv* (T with text, see below) b (no equivalent in T), Pn *bandhuvargavadheṣv api*, SP,

H text c (*cf* T below), Pn *paruṣāṇy api jalpanto,* SP ed *te yathārthapravaktāraḥ* (SPα *te vāi yathārthavaktāro*), H Pet *te yathārthasya vaktāro,* H Mu *sadāivāvadhyabhāvena* d, Pn *vadhyā dūtā na bhūbhujā,* SP *pṛthivyām pṛthivībhujām* (SPα as text), H Pet *'py avadhyā hi bhavādṛśām,* H Mu *yathārthasya* (*cf* c!) *hi vācakaḥ* —Tβ for vs *uddhṛteṣv api śāstreṣu* (so mss) *yathoktavaktāraḥ teṣām antevāsino 'py avadhyā iti* —Sy daß ein Botschafter, auch wenn er in einer schlimmen Sache kommt [= pāda a], weder getötet noch gefangen genommen werden darf Ar, *cf* Joel p 77, l 26 quand même il prononce des paroles méchantes (so also other Ar versions, instead of "wenn er in einer schlimmen Sache kommt"), il n'est que le messager qui ne peut pas commettre un pécher, puisqu'il doit s'acquitter de ce qu'on lui a ordonné de dire

Now, I should be the last to claim that the original form of this passage, and particularly the verse, is clear in all details But (unhappily!) it is not unique in this respect The variations between the several versions, while more markt than usual, are by no means unparalleled There are other passages—other verses even—which vary as widely in the several versions, and yet which no one would suspect of being unoriginal as a whole—tho there may be serious question as to some of the details of the original, as there are in this case

Probably Hertel would have been slow to make this claim on such a basis alone Of course the fact that the verse is lacking in Tα prejudices him, because of his views of the exclusive position of that subrecension, against its originality But he has made an interesting discovery about the Tβ reading, which he considers a striking confirmation of his view He notes that there is apparently some relation between the Tβ reading and a passage from the Kāuṭilīya Arthaśāstra, p 30 towards bottom, where a messenger is instructed to say, if the king to whom he is sent gets angry

dūtamukhā vāi rājānas tvam cānye ca tasmād uddhṛtesv api śastresu yathoktam vaktāras teṣām antāvasāyino 'py avadhyāḥ, kim aṅga brāhmanah parasyāitad vākyam, esa dūtadharma iti

The similarity of the Tβ reading to this indicates that it is a garbled quotation of the Kāut This seems confirmed especially by the word *antevāsino,* which occurs only in Tβ, and whose sense would hardly be guest from its context The Kāut passage seems to show that it means "Caṇḍālas"

Hertel's theory is that "K" interpolated, probably as a marginal note, an abbreviated reference to this Kāut passage He thinks this marginal note began *dūtādy uddhṛteṣv api* etc., and that *dūtādy* means *dūta°*, and is an abbreviation for the words *dūtamukhā* to *tasmād* incl, after which the note proceeded to give (in fragmentary form) the rest of the quotation This garbled quotation of K, he thinks, was taken over bodily in Tβ, whereas Pn and Ur-SP, or their respective archetypes, tried to emend it and make sense out of it, both of them making part of it into a verse, but independently of each other

I submit the following as a theory which seems at least as likely to be the true explanation of the facts The original Pañcatantra read

as my reconstruction reads (with the possible exceptions indicated by the use of parentheses and italics therein) The redactor of T, being reminded of the Kāut passage by the language of the passage he found in his original, substituted the one for the other, perhaps conceiving that his original made an attempt to quote the Kāut and had become corrupt But the T reading itself became corrupt in tradition (as it is in the Tβ mss), and for this reason, since it makes no sense as it stands, the Tα copyist omitted it There is, in my opinion, plenty of evidence that the copyist of the Tα archetype did this freely with other passages which he found in a corrupt form in his predecessor (see below, p 122 f)

Hertel says that the introductory *uktam ca* (Tβ, Pn) specifically indicates that the following passage is a quotation I reply *uktam ca* generally indicates nothing but that a *verse* follows The verse may or may not be quoted from another source, at any rate most of the verses, which are so constantly introduced by this same phrase, belonged to the original Pañcatantra, even tho they need not necessarily be supposed to have been composed by its author The phrase *uktam ca* therefore does not *necessarily* imply that the following was a quotation from an outside source—still less that it was not in the Ur-Pañc.

Hertel thinks the form of the verse, as the alleged "K" texts have it, is poor, and finds in this a confirmation of his theory that it is unoriginal Aside from the fact that there are (as Hertel himself has pointed out) laxities and imperfections in other verses, indubitably parts of the original, I cannot agree with Hertel as to the supposedly poor quality of this verse He quotes the reading of SPα in pādas cd as °*vaktāro avadhyāh*°, with hiatus between the pādas But only one ms has this reading, according to his statement¹ The others read *na vadhyāh*, and none of the other "K" texts show the hiatus Evidently Hertel would not regard the reading with the hiatus as the original one, were he not over-anxious to make the "K" version seem poor —His other criticism of the verse is directed at the fact that in pāda b we have the singular *dūto*, while in cd the plural *te* *na vadhyāh* is found I see nothing difficult in this The word *dūto* is a generalizing singular "a [= any and every] messenger speaks as instructed" That this is then resumed by a plural, "they" = "messengers" in general, is surely a simple enuf change of construction and hardly seems to me to call for comment I think no one would find fault with this if he were not looking for trouble

As a positive objection to Hertel's theory I would advance this. I know of no case in all Sanskrit literature in which a "quotation" is made in such a strange way as Hertel assumes for his "K" In the first place, can *ādi* be used alone for *iti* (or *ityādi*) in this sense? I do not know an instance In the second place, when the first word or *pratīka* of a passage, followed by *iti* (rather than *ādi*), is used by way of quotation, the text does not then follow it up with a group of words taken out of the middle of the quoted passage¹ In other words, a Hindu intending to quote

dūtamukhā vai rājānas tvam cānye ca tasmād uddhṛteṣv api śastreṣu &c

might possibly have quoted it by *dūtādi* (rather, *dūteti*!) alone, but he would surely not then have added *uddhṛteṣv api* etc ! In fact, since *dūtādy* (or *dūtety*) would have been insufficient to identify the passage, he would have quoted more from the *beginning* of the passage, as e g *dūta-mukhā vāi rājāna ity (ādi)* or the like This seems to me to indicate that Hertel is wrong in accepting the reading of the T ms z (*dūtādy*) at this place, and that the other ms R, which reads *dyūtā hy*, has the correct reading except that of course *dūtā* should be read for *dyūtā* (On the ms R see below, p 124 ff) This seems to me to get further confirmation from Pūrnabhadra's reading, *dūtamukhā hi* &c If we assume that Pn represents the original Pañcatantra in this, the resemblance to the Kāut passage becomes still more striking, and it becomes even easier to understand how the T redactor substituted a quotation of that passage for the following verse Pn surely cannot have got his reading from any such text as the Tβ mss present, by a "gluckliche Besserung", as Hertel assumes That is really too much to attribute to a Hindu redactor, or any other human being! It would be literally a miracle for a later redactor, starting with such an abbreviation or garbling of a quotation as is found in Tβ, to restore it and come so close to the original

It might be urged that the general language of the SP-Pn verse, and especially of the preceding prose in Pn, is so close to the Kāut passage as to indicate that somehow or other it must go back to an original quotation of that passage But note that even in Tα—and therefore in the original Pañc according to Hertel—occur the words *jānāty eva bhavān yathārthavādino dūtasya na dosah karanīyah* These words are also close to the words of the Kāut. passage, but hardly close enuf to indicate a direct quotation from it Hertel himself does not assume that it is that As a matter of fact the principle laid down in the passage is, as Hertel rightly says, a commonplace of *nīti*-literature And the only version whose words are so close to Kāut as to make it seem clearly an attempt at a quotation is (again I agree with Hertel) Tβ I disagree with Hertel only in that I regard this quotation of Tβ as a secondary substitute for the original Pañc reading, and further in that I regard Tα's omission of the passage as proving nothing but the fact that its archetype (namely, a version agreeing here with Tβ) was corrupt at the point

It seems to me unlikely that SP and Pn, or their archetypes, could have composed the verse in question independently, as Hertel assumes It is true that their readings differ widely But there are also contained in them striking verbal correspondences, not all of which can be explained as coming from the original form of the quotation (note the ending of the last pāda, *pṛthivī*bhujā *bhū*bhujā) As I have said, verses whose originality is unquestioned and unquestionable differ at times just as widely as does this verse in the readings of various recensions

Hertel, adopting a suggestion made to him by Jolly, would see in the Arabic versions of the stanza, which read e g Joel quand même il prononce des paroles méchantes, an equivalent of Pn's pāda c, *paruṣāny api jalpanto* It seems to me much more likely that the Arabic has here

misunderstood or distorted the Pahlavi which is represented in the Old Syriac by "auch wenn er in einer schlimmen Sache kommt." This phrase seems to me to represent pāda a of the original *uddhṛteṣv api śastreṣu*. It is a "schlimme Sache" when hostilities have opened. Of course the rendering is not exact, even in the Syriac, but all students of the Syriac will, I am sure, agree that it is no more remote from the original than the Pahlavi versions frequently—indeed, constantly—are.

To sum up: it seems to me that my theory of this passage is at least as likely an explanation of the facts as Hertel's, considering the passage by itself. Now, if Hertel were right in supposing that he has absolutely proved his theory as to the general relationship of the versions, then it would be fair and proper to give weight to that theory in evaluating the evidence on this passage too. I hope I have shown by this time how far he has come from proving this. While, therefore, I do not say, in Hertel's style, that my explanation is the only conceivable one for this admittedly troublesome and difficult passage, I think I have made it clear that Hertel's contrary explanation is certainly not the only conceivable one.

Summary and conclusion as to the "archetype K"—The number of cases which Hertel advances in proof of his "K" is somewhat larger than the number which he finds for "t," or for his "N-W" (see the following pages). It is still far from large enuf to prove the point, even if the cases were individually sound (*cf.* p. 91 f. above). As a matter of fact not a single one of them is compelling. Only in two instances (Nos. 4 and 9) does he make out what could be called even a plausible *prima facie* case. And in both of those cases I have suggested other alternatives which are certainly possible, and which to me seem at least as likely to be right *a priori* as Hertel's views, while a consideration of the versions as a whole leads me to believe that they are far more likely to be right. In all the remaining instances, Hertel does not even make out a plausible case. In every one of them the reading of the "K" versions has been shown to be at least as good as the T reading, and therefore, since the T reading is found only in one version, more likely to be original. In some instances the Tβ mss. agree with the supposed "K" versions, thus making assurance doubly sure, as it seems to me. In one case (No. 1), of which Hertel makes much, the T version has been shown on internal evidence to be secondary and corrupt; it is not even consistent with itself, and it has borrowed from another place in its own text a sentence on which Hertel's argument is largely based.—In Chapter VII, below, I shall present a large collection of cases

in which I believe that T is secondary, as shown by agreements of other versions This collection may be understood as an additional argument, on the positive side, against Hertel's hypothesis of "K," which implies an exceptional and well-nigh exclusive position for T among Pañcatantra versions

III. The supposed archetype "N-W".

What is meant by the supposed archetype "N-W"?—According to Hertel, this "N-W" was an offshoot of "K" (see the preceding pages), from which Pa, the Ur-SP (with N and H), and Spl (with Pn) are descended In other words, it is an archetype of all the "K" versions except the Bṛhatkathā versions, So and Ks, which are independent of it This "N-W" rests on even weaker grounds than "t" and "K," if that be possible That is, there is even less *alleged* evidence for it So far as I can see, Hertel makes this assumption on the basis of precisely *two* passages (!), in which he finds common secondary features in these versions

1. The Sesame story again.—One concerns the Sesame story (II 2), mentioned above, page 106 ff It was noted there that Somadeva is extremely brief in his account of the last part of the story, practically omitting the account of the attempted barter Now Hertel's theory, more ingenious than probable, is that Somadeva's archetype had a lacuna at this place (He does not say how he interprets Ksemendra, which summarizes, no more briefly than usual, the part supposed to have been omitted in Somadeva's archetype—which was presumably Ksemendra's archetype too) This lacuna Hertel supposes to have occurred in "K" It was filled in, secondarily, and incorrectly (with "huskt for unhuskt" sesame, cf above), in an offshoot of "K," called by Hertel "N-W," and from this "N-W" are descended the Ur SP, Pa, and Spl, while So (and Ks?) come from the unrestored "K" with its lacuna

I would observe, first, that Somadeva is almost or quite as brief in many other places as he is at this place I am sure that Hertel would never have thot of assuming a lacuna here if it had not suited his special purpose Secondly, and much more important SP shows, in the parts of the story covered by the supposed "lacuna" markt verbal correspondences with T (For examples see page 107 above, for others, see my Crit App) Now, according to Hertel, SP in this part goes back to a secondary restoration, made in "N-W," of this "lacuna" How then does the language of SP happen to indicate that it goes back, in spots at least, to the same literal original as T? Even the proper name Kāmandaki occurs in SP in the place supposed to have been lost and restored

Unless we assume that the restorer copied from a version of the original (in which case the result would be the same as if there had never been a lacuna), I do not see how this would be possible

My own views on the Sesame story are summarized above Whether they are right or wrong in general, in any case it seems to me that Hertel's "lacuna" and subsequent "restoration" are alike imaginary

2. Story of Brahman and Rogues, III. 5 —So far as I can discover, this is the only other passage advanst by Hertel in support of his "N-W" See his Tantr Einl p 32f, and SP Einl p XXXVIff Here he assumes a lacuna in the archetype of SP (N, H), Spl (Pn), and Pa, while T and So go back to a complete text

It is necessary here to distinguish between what Hertel has sound philological grounds for asserting, and what he merely conjectures on purely subjective and imaginary grounds Unfortunately he states both with equal positiveness and assurance

That the manuscripts of SP all go back to a manuscript which had a lacuna in the middle of this story, can hardly be doubted if we assume the correctness of Hertel's quotations from them (SP p XXXIX f) The lacuna is plainly there in many of them, in the others it is filled out in various absurd ways, showing no relation whatever to the original So far, so good, SP clearly had a lacuna here

But on what grounds does Hertel assume that this lacuna goes back to an archetype of SP, N, H, Pa, and Spl? Solely on the ground of the variation in the *number* of rogues undertaking to trick the brahman Namely in all the versions (except the fragmentary mss of SP) the brahman is addrest by the rogues three times, one after another But whereas in H, Jn, and Pa (on Pa see below) only *one* of the rogues addresses him at a time, in So and T we find him addrest the first time by one rogue, the second time by two, and the third time by three, so that six rogues appear in all Ks agrees with T and So, except that the third time it says "others" (plural, not dual), instead of specifically "three"

I agree with Hertel that the striking accord in the numbers between T and So and Ks is a strong indication that the original read as they do It is the sort of feature which could not well be supposed to have been invented independently by several redactors But when Hertel seeks to bring the simplification in the numbers found in the other recensions into relation with the lacuna in SP, it seems to me that he becomes again wholly subjective and inconclusive, if not absurd That Pa and Jn and H have three *individuals* instead of three groups (of one, two, and three respectively—if I may be pardoned for speaking of a "group" of one), as in T and So, is surely no matter for surprise. It ought not even to call for comment The brahman was addrest only three times, why—say the Pa, Jn, and H redactors—should there be more than three speakers? The climactic arrangement of the numbers is exactly the sort of trifling detail which we constantly find later redactors altering, either carelessly, or deliberately (because there seemed to be no reason for it) The only reason, indeed, which Hertel can think of for its being used

in the original is that perhaps the author wanted to give examples of parallel Sanskrit forms in the singular, dual, and plural! The details of the entire passage in Spl and Pa (especially the Old Spanish, which is here *very* close to the original) and Hitopadeśa are given substantially as fully and as well as in T, and—this is important—in strikingly similar language, for the most part See my Crit App, which shows unmistakable evidence that these versions go back to the same original,—even Spl, tho it (as very often) has peculiar variations of its own How do they happen to tell the story in so nearly the same terms if there was a lacuna in the archetype of all of them at this point? Contrast the handling of the story in the mss of SP, which have really filled in a genuine lacuna (still present in many of them) They are utterly different from each other and from the other versions —It seems to me scarcely believable that anyone could base such sweeping conclusions on this trifling point of the variation in numbers

Hertel (*l c*) makes much of the fact that there is some variation in the number of rogues in some of the offshoots of the Pahlavi (in Old Syriac four, in some offshoots of the Arabic only two) He actually seems to argue from this that the number varied in the Pahlavi itself! As if the Pahlavi translator (for Hertel does not question that the Syriac and Arabic, at least, go back to a single version, the Pahlavi) were uncertain how many rogues to mention, and perhaps told the story differently, using different numbers! Or did the Pahlavi have the alleged "lacuna" still present in its actual text? If so, how comes it that the Old Spanish (and other Pahlavi offshoots) have the clearest possible evidence of literal translation from the Sanskrit in the passage? Where was the lacuna—between what two points, exactly?—The variation in numbers in the Pahlavi is a support of my contention, not of Hertel's It shows how easy it was for later versions to vary independently on such a trifling detail as this Pahlavi certainly had *some* definite number —whether four, three, or two (as a matter of fact, unquestionably three), yet its descendants vary Note also that the variation in the descendants of the Pahlavi goes hand in hand with a variation in the number of times the brahman is addrest The rogues go singly, one rogue, one approach to the brahman In T and So, on the other hand, as in all other Sanskrit versions (barring the corrupt SP), the brahman is addrest exactly three times, neither more nor less —That SP's corruption originated later than the Ur-SP is proved by the Hitopadeśa, which not only has precisely three successive approaches to the brahman, but also contains some clear verbal inheritances from the original in the place where the SP mss have their lacuna

Summary and conclusion.—To sum up, there is not a trace of evidence which makes in any degree likely Hertel's assumption of the archetype "N-W" He has produced only two alleged pieces of evidence; and neither one has any weight whatsoever

IV. Relations of Tantrākhyāyika α and β, and of the mss. of T.

Hertel's view that Tα is more original than β.—According to Hertel, the subrecension Tα is "far more original" than Tβ (Tantr Einl p 69, and *passim*) Apparently to him the conclusive, and almost the only, evidence of the general unoriginality of Tβ consists in the alleged fact to which allusion has been made repeatedly, that Tβ contains many verses, some prose sentences, at least one entire story, and not a few variant readings of individual words, in common with the "K" versions, and at variance with Tα In most such cases Hertel believes that Tα is the original, and that Tβ has inserted (or substituted) readings taken from a "K" codex Hertel admits, however, that when the two subrecensions vary, it is not always Tβ which is inferior Not infrequently he finds it necessary to adopt the Tβ reading rather than the Tα one in his text And he recognizes the interpolation of one story, the Treacherous Bawd, in Tα (as III 5) In short, his view may be summarized thus Each of the two subrecensions contains some correct readings and some secondary readings which the other has not, but the former are far more common in Tα, the latter in T β Each also contains secondary interpolations which the other has not, but Tβ has far more than Tα And when we find a passage in Tβ that is lacking in Tα, the presumption always is that it is an interpolation in the former, not an omission in the latter This presumption is in no way weakened if we find the "interpolation" present in other Pañcatantra versions, for this simply means that T β interpolated the passage from a "K" codex

The present writer's views.—My own view of this subject is almost the reverse of Hertel's I find no evidence that in the slightest degree tends to show contamination from an outside Pañcatantra version in Tβ, and it seems to me that such contamination is extremely unlikely In every single case in which Tβ agrees with the consensus of the so-called "K" versions, I believe that this agreement is inherited from the original Pañcatantra, and that it is Tα which is secondary There is not one such case in which the Tβ and so-called "K" reading is in any way inferior to the reading of T α,

and there are not a few cases in which it seems to me that it is superior (Of course, in many cases either reading makes good sense) All the supposed "interpolations" of Tβ, when supported by the other versions, belong to the original, and have been omitted in Tα As to minor variants, *variae lectiones* of individual words, my disagreement with Hertel is not so important Here again, when a reading of either subrecension is supported by the consensus of outside versions, I believe that it is always original It is not by any means always, tho it is more often, Tβ which is thus supported Each of the subrecensions preserves at different times better readings than the other As a matter of fact the two agree pretty closely on verbal details Generally speaking the variations are not markt, aside from obvious manuscript blunders —Of Hertel's ideas as to the relation of the individual manuscripts of T, and his editing of the text, I shall speak later

Alleged interpolations in Tβ from a "K" codex.—I have already indicated that I consider Hertel's "K" imaginary, and have stated my reasons for not accepting his interpretation of various passages in which he thinks the other versions are inferior to Tα As to the passages which Hertel thinks are interpolations from "K" in Tβ, the single story which he calls a "certain interpolation from a K-codex" (Tantr Einl. p 67), namely the Old Man, Young Wife, and Thief (III 6 of the reconstruction), has been considered by me on page 63, note 6 I have there shown the fallacious nature of Hertel's objections to it I think there is no doubt that it belonged to the original Pañcatantra There are in Tβ (and partly in Tα too) a number of stories which I agree with Hertel in denying to the original Pañcatantra (p 74 ff), but there is no reason to suppose that they were borrowed from any other Pañcatantra version, and I understand that Hertel does not suppose that —As to the verses in Tβ and other versions, but not in Tα (a list, not quite complete I think, is given by Hertel, Tantr Einl p 67 f), it is scarcely possible to argue about most of them In the nature of the case there can not, usually, be any compelling ground for regarding them as either original or unoriginal (unless one accepts as proof of their originality the agreement of the other versions with Tβ, which in my

opinion *is* a sufficient proof, but not in Hertel's opinion) For it is easy both to insert and to omit these proverbial stanzas, without otherwise disturbing the text Consequently it is hard to detect definite signs of either their insertion or their omission —The same is partly true of the various prose passages found in Tβ (and other versions), but not in Tα Sometimes Hertel thinks he can see proof, in the context, of the unoriginality of such passages I have noted above several such cases and indicated my reasons for not accepting his conclusions Sometimes I think, on the other hand, that I can see reasons for preferring the longer version, as in the case of the ending of Book IV, where Tα breaks off abruptly with a verse spoken by the ape to the crocodile, with no proper conclusion such as all the other tantras have, and such as T β has here But such preferences would usually be largely subjective, and I should seldom be prepared to claim that they were absolutely conclusive (*e g* as regards Book IV and its ending, I recognize that *conceivably* the original author might have chosen to end this single book in such an abrupt fashion, contrary to his usual custom) I think, however, that it is perhaps worth noting that in quite a number of cases where Tα fails to show correspondents to a passage found in Tβ (and other versions), we find that the Tβ tradition is corrupt, or at least unoriginal This seems to me significant It suggests that the Tα subrecension may possibly go back to an archetype which contained the passages in question, but in a distorted or corrupt form, as they are found in Tβ, and this may be just the reason for the omissions I have shown, for instance, that Tα's omission of the stories of the Old Man, Young Wife, and Thief, and of the Talking Cave, may not improbably be connected with such distortions in the text of Tβ where these stories are introduced (see pages 65, n , and 77). Similar cases (for the details see my Crit App) occur in II § 234 (lacuna indicated by space in T β mss., nothing in T α), II § 236 (T β secondary and apparently corrupt; nothing in T α), III § 25 (lacuna indicated by space in T β mss ; nothing in T α), III § 64 (corrupt in T β, nothing in T α, see above, p 114), III § 245 (see page 175 below, this § omitted in T α in an attempt to rationalize a passage corrupted by the omission of the preceding

§ 244), III § 278 (name of frog-king, *jālapāda*, corrupt in Tβ, omitted in Tα and in one Tβ ms , Hertel, T ed p 139, l 12, note, quite rightly "Das Fehlen des Wortes in α R durfte seinen Grund in der in *pz* uberlieferten Korruptel haben") In some *stanzas*, also, which are found in other recensions, it is probable that corruptions in Tβ are responsible for the omission of the stanza in Tα Thus III vss 16 and 17 are preserved only in fragmentary form (one half of each) in Tβ, tho the entire stanzas are found in Pahlavi, they are wholly omitted in T α I believe that III vs 44 is a similar case, here T β appears to have substituted a prose quotation, in a corrupt form, for the stanza, see p 111 ff Less certain cases are III vss 41, 42, and 61, in which Tβ has minor corruptions, and which are omitted in Tα—In the note just quoted from Hertel, T ed p 139, on l 12, he seems to recognize the possibility that omissions in Tα may be due to corruptions in Tβ, thus implying that Tα goes back to an archetype which contained at least some of the corruptions now found in Tβ It seems to me that he would have done well to allow greater scope to this possibility

Minor variations in the language of Tα and β.—These are fairly numerous in the aggregate, tho comparatively of minor importance Most of them, I should say, are the sort of petty variants which may and do occur independently in different manuscripts So it happens that we occasionally find *both* readings, of Tα and β, supported by different outside recensions or subrecensions (A few examples are listed by me *AJP* 36 275 ff) In most of these cases it is out of the question to suppose direct connexion in both cases, one or the other reading must have been changed independently On the other hand, when the outside versions unanimously agree with either Tα or Tβ against the other, it seems to me fairly certain that the disagreeing version is secondary And indeed it seems to me that this is usually the only criterion by which one can decide with assurance whether Tα or Tβ is more original By this criterion sometimes the one, sometimes the other is supported. It seems to me hardly possible to lay down a general law favoring either one. Hertel also admits this in practice, and not infrequently adopts the β reading in his text. But, as I have said, I think

he exaggerates the value of α In particular I think he is always wrong when he prefers the reading of α to that of β supported by the *consensus* of outside versions

Supposed "attempted corrections," in Tβ, of Tα readings.— In a few cases Hertel (see especially *ZDMG* 59 5 ff, also *passim* in his edition and translation) thinks he finds evidence that Tβ has attempted to correct (usually without success) a reading found in Tα His arguments on these points seem to me as subjective and illusory as those by which he seeks to prove his "t," "K," and "N-W" In most of the cases I find no reason for supposing that Tα is superior, and in some I find reasons for the contrary opinion. *E g* our II § 204 (*ZDMG* 59 6), the negative (*na* vartate) of β is supported by SP and Pn, it is my opinion that the α mss have omitted it by mere error The verb is put before the subject for emphasis, and its position does not necessarily indicate a question In our III § 265 the name of the serpent, Mandavisa, is found only in the single ms R of β Hertel (Translation, p 131, n 1) says "durch Konjektur erganzt" The identical name is found in the same place in the other recensions Is it likely that the scribe of the ms. R would invent by conjecture a name for the serpent and hit on the form which the other versions have? In fact the name occurs below in the other β mss and it seems to me obvious that R has correctly preserved the original name at the place where it first occurs, whereas the other mss have omitted it by accident —In our II § 169 Hertel (*cf* his Translation, p 82, n 2) says that β's reading (*udyuktānām dhanam bhogāh kva yāsyantīti*) is "evidently a mistaken correction" of the "corrupt" reading of α (*udyu° kva yānti dhanabhogā iti*), which he emends to *udyu° hy āyānti* etc Neither α nor β can be called "corrupt," Hertel has simply failed to understand them. They both mean "Treasures and pleasures never leave the strenuous," literally, "of the strenuous, where do [or, will] treasures and pleasures go?" (rhetorical question, do [or, will] not go anywhere) No emendation is called for Either α or β may be the original reading, one is simply a paraphrase of the other, and the outside versions happen to give us no help in deciding between them Since β means exactly the same thing as α, except that it has a future tense instead of a present,

I fail to see how Hertel can call it a "correction" of α, in any case

The manuscripts of Tantrākhyāyika —In the last paragraph I noted a passage in which I believe that the ms R (of β) has preserved the original reading, alone of all T mss I think that this is not an isolated instance While I should not say and do not believe that R is in all cases the best ms of T, I think it is much more important than Hertel assumes Hertel believes that it is derived (not immediately) from the ms z, and that when it has the correct reading against the other mss this is due to "gluckliche Besserung" (his favorite way of explaining facts which spoil his theories) He admits that these ' gluckliche Besserungen" of R are not infrequent (*Cf* T ed, p XVII "R sucht durchgehends den Text zu bessern und hat ofters das Richtige getroffen") Indeed, they are so frequent that he assumes (*l c*) an imaginary manuscript ζ, standing between z and R, and immediate source of the latter, in which some errors were corrected, *possibly with the aid of other manuscripts* ["In ζ waren wohl einzelne Fehler (nach anderen Hss ?) gebessert"] Yet he apparently ignores this suggestion of his own, that R gets at least *some* of its superior readings from manuscripts lying outside of our materials For later (*op cit* p XXIII) he flatly declares that "apparently or really superior readings" of R "have only the value of conjectures" And it is on this principle that he acts in constituting his text, even when R has a reading supported by the consensus of the other recensions (and often, it seems to me, by the sense), he very rarely and grudgingly allows himself to be guided by it This is because he thinks he has proved (*op cit* p XVI) that R is dependent on z paleographically Even if he be right in this as to certain places, that would not prove that R is *always* dependent on z Not infrequently a Hindu ms, for one reason or another, is copied from different archetypes in different parts of the text This is the case with Hertel's ms p, which belongs to Tα in the first part but to Tβ in the second part,—the shift occurring, according to Hertel, right in the middle of a sentence, and with no change in the writing or other indication of any sort How then can Hertel be sure, even if R is dependent on z in spots, that it is not independent of it in

other spots? Nay, he has himself suggested that it *is* so—that its archetype (the imaginary ζ) "corrected" the text "according to other manuscripts" (with a question-mark, to be sure) He should therefore have given more weight to R's readings, especially when they are supported by other versions I have little faith in Hertel's standing explanation of "glückliche Besserungen"

Of Hertel's general discussion of the relations of his T mss to each other, I must say that while it sounds extremely impressive at first, it fails to impress on closer acquaintance Its elaborate and artificial scheme, including half a dozen or more imaginary manuscripts, is built up largely by a process which can best be described as "hearing the grass grow" It is, in my opinion, impossible to set up such sweeping generalizations on the basis of a few minute (and often very questionable) data For one thing, many of the "common corruptions" on which Hertel's scheme largely depends are not corruptions at all, but good readings, which Hertel has merely failed to understand Hertel is very much too free with emendations, see the list of erroneous emendations in T's text given below, Chapter IX *E g*, in one paragraph (paragraph 15 on p XXI of T ed) he groups some seven or eight "corruptions," of which three —*the only ones which are found in all the manuscripts*—are not corruptions at all, Hertel's emendations are false (These are T p 61, l 12, our I § 585, where Hertel wrongly inserts *nindā*; p. 74, l 14, where he wrongly inserts *śesam suguptam*, cf *JAOS.* 38 278; p. 110, l 12, where he wrongly inserts *aho*, instead of reading with *abhinihita* sandhi *'samo°*) This may serve as an example of the insecure basis on which he builds his elaborate but flimsy superstructure Until more conclusive evidence to the contrary is produced than has yet been offered by Hertel, we may assume, I think, that the agreement of *any* manuscript of T with the consensus of outside versions gives us what is in all probability the original reading And I find a considerable number of cases in which such readings are found in R alone At the same time it seems also to be true that R has a number of individual corruptions. The precise genealogy of this manuscript will probably never be determined

Summary and conclusion—It cannot be said that Tα as a whole is "far superior" to Tβ The reverse would hardly be

the case either, but it seems to me that Tβ is at least a rather more complete representative of the T tradition, and probably in general a better one, than Tα. The texts of Tα and Tβ are closely related but independent offshoots of the T archetype. Each omits some original features which are contained in the other (but such omissions are more numerous in Tα than in Tβ). Each also contains some secondary additions. Neither omissions nor additions are very numerous in either one. More numerous in both are slight verbal alterations, and in the majority of cases in which such variations occur it is impossible to say which is the original. When the outside Pañcatantra versions agree unanimously with one against the other, or with any single ms. of T against the rest, the original is thereby determined. When they too differ among themselves, or when they do not agree with either Tα or Tβ, there is usually no way to decide which reading was found in the original T.

CHAPTER VI

EXAMPLES OF METHOD OF RECONSTRUCTION. ORIGINAL AND UNORIGINAL AGREEMENTS

Purpose of this chapter.—In Chapter III I laid down the principle that agreements in sense or exact language between two or more *independent* versions constitute *prima facie* evidence as to the sense or language of the original. In Chapter IV I indicated the versions which can be shown to be interrelated. With these exceptions, I regard all the versions covered by my study as independent, that is, as related only thru the original Pañcatantra, not thru any secondary archetype, in whole or in part. In Chapter V I undertook to show the fallacy of Hertel's assumption of certain other secondary relationships. In this sixth chapter I shall present some examples of the workings of my method of reconstruction. First I shall quote a continuous passage of some length (Book I, prose §§ 34—48 incl., with the verses that occur therein, I vss 7—23 incl.), with the readings of all the versions. I have selected this passage as one of the best examples of an extensive portion of continuous text in which most of the versions agree closely with each other, not only in sense, but in exact language. Only the Bṛhatkathā versons (So and Ks) are very ill represented in it. The reason for this is that the passage contains no action at all; it is distinctly undramatic. And the Bṛhatkathā versions limit themselves primarily to the dramatic parts of the text, the stories proper; they practically exclude the rest.

This passage is an illustration of the working-out of the reconstruction under the most favorable circumstances. Thruout the most of it, there can be little or no question of the general sense of the original. Possible doubts arise, generally speaking, only as to the precise language. My general rule, both as to agreements in sense and as to agreements in exact language,

is to assume that correspondences between versions that are not secondarily related establish a *prima facie* case for the original Such *prima facie* evidence is not seriously controverted by variations in other versions, *provided* these other versions do not agree among themselves, and *provided* there is no other, special reason for doubting that the original read as indicated by the agreement first establisht When independent agreements can be shown to exist among the other (discordant) versions also; that is, when two irreconcilable agreements are found in the same passage, both apparently supported by independent versions, then we can only conjecture which was the original One of the two agreements must certainly be accidental, since the original obviously cannot have contained both Such cases occur, I believe, only with very minor and petty agreements, usually concerning slight variations in a single word, such as could without much difficulty have occurred independently Examples are found in the following passage under § 34 (Pn and H), § 35 (T, SPβ, Hp, Pṇ on the one hand, against SPα, Hm, and Spl), vs 9 (T, SPβ, and N against SPα, H, and Pṇ), vs 12 (Tα, SP, H against Tβ, N, Spl, and v. l. of SP), etc —Occasionally there are other, special reasons for doubting the originality of an agreement between independent versions, even sometimes when there is no divergent agreement among other versions. Examples of such "unoriginal agreements" will be furnisht at the end of this chapter

Such explanatory comments as seem necessary to make my decisions entirely clear are added to each section or verse, rather fully at first, more briefly in the sequel I trust that these comments, taken in connexion with the preceding chapters of this Introduction, will leave no one in the dark as to my methods and the basis of them

Reconstruction of Book I §§ 34—48 and vss 7—23

Note —For abbreviations of texts here referred to, and explanation of typographical devices used in the reconstruction, see the introductory pages of Volume I *Italics* indicate parts of the reconstructed text which are not verbally certain; *parentheses* enclose parts which may not have been in the original, even in general sense —In the *prose sections* of the following passage I print first the readings of all the Pañcatantra versions used by me, so far as they contain the section in question, then my reconstruction,

then my comments In the *verses*, on the other hand, I print first a list of the versions in which the verse occurs, then my reconstruction, then the variants of all the versions, and the complete text of the Brhatkathā and Pahlavi versions, then my comments

I § 34

T A 11 punaś cābravīt āvayos tāvad bhaksitaśesam āhāranırvartanam[†] asty eva
SP 78 āvayos tāvad āhāro bhaksitaśesas tisthati
SPα āvayos tāvad bhaksitaśesa āhāra āste.
Hp 52 18 āvayos tāvad bhaksitaśesāhārah pracuras tisthati
Hm 10, bottom (as Hp except that it omits tāvad and reads pracuro 'sti)
Spl 8 16 āvayor bhaksitaśesa āhāro 'sty eva (Here addition.)
Pn 6 1 punaś cābravīt āvayos tāvad bhaksitaśesāhāramātravartanam asty eva

Sy A 3 9 (before Story 1, transposed in position) Sind wir doch gut aufgehoben an seiner Pforte und finden unseren Unterhalt [und ist unser Rang nicht danach, &c , this does not correspond to the Sanskrit of this passage]
Ar in sense as Sy
Not in So or Ks
[†]T mss °nirvartanam

Reconstruction

(*punas cābravīt*) āvayos tāvad bhaksitaśesa āhāro 'sty (*eva*)

Comments

The words punaś cābravīt occur only in T and Pn. They seem natural, and their omission in the others does not prove unoriginality, but being found only in two interrelated versions they cannot be attributed with certainty to the original They are therefore printed in parentheses and of course *a fortiori* in italics, for even if something of the same sense was present in the original, we have no proof that it contained these words

The word āvayos in T, SP, H, Spl, Pn, and the sense in Sy and Ar It is clearly an original word

The word tāvad is supported by T, SP, H, and Pn. There being no reason to believe in secondary connexions between SP-H on the one hand and T or Pn on the other, the word is doubtless original

After this we assume for the original bhaksitaśesa āhāro So Spl, and, except for sandhi at the end, SPα, obviously the true reading of SP (the edition with SPβ merely transposes the two words, whose original order is proved by the agreement of all the others) There is no reason to believe in secondary relations between Spl and SP, and their agreement alone raises a strong presumption as to the original But this presumption is only confirmed by the variations of the others H merely combines the two words as a compound, and adds the adjective pracuras, which has

no parallel elsewhere and may be assumed to be secondary T (the mss corruptly) expands āhāro into a compound āhārānuvartanam (?), and then makes bhaks° a neuter agreeing with it—also clearly secondarily Pn follows, but emends, this reading of T, running together the two words as H does (a simple and doubtless secondary change) The Pahlavi versions have no equivalent for bhaksitaśesa

That the verb of the sentence was asti is indicated by the agreement of T and the two Jain versions with Hm and (almost) with SPα, the original version of SP, whose āste is doubtless an easy change from asti

The word eva at the end is found only in T and the Jain versions and therefore cannot be considered certain, it makes good sense but is not absolutely required Therefore it is printed in parentheses as a possible but not certain part of the original

I § 35

T A 11 2 karatakam damanaka āha katham āhāramātrārthī kevalam bhavān sarvas tāvat pradhānasevām* kurute viśesārthī sādhu cedam ucyate

SP 78 damanakah katham āhāramātrārthī bhavān rājānam avalokaya ākarnaya

SPα damanaka āha katham āhārārthī bhavān sevate. tathā ca

Hp 52 19 damanakah sarosam āha† katham āhāramātrārthī bhavān sevate. etan na yuktam yatah

Hm 11 1 damanakaḥ sarosam āha katham āhārārthī bhavān kevalam rājānam sevate etad ayuktam uktam tvayā yatah

So 33, 34 ab etat karaṭakāc chrutvā dhīro damanako 'bravīt, antarbhūya prabhoh prāpyo viśesah sarvadā (Brockhaus sarvathā) budhāih, ko hi nāma na kurvīta kevalodarapūranam**

Not in Ks

Spl 8 17 damanaka āha tat kim bhavān āhārārthī kevalam eva tan na yuktam uktam ca

Pn 6 2 damanaka āha katham āhāramātrārthī kevalam bhavān pradhānasevām kurute, na viśesārthitayā sādhu cedam ucyate

Sy A 5 Dmng sprach Bruder, [ich habe diese Geschichte gehört aber] wer immer einem Herrn dient, tut dies doch nicht bloß um seines Bauches willen**

Ar as Sy

*T mss pradhānasevā, or pradhānam, omitting sevām † So v l, text brūte

**The last part of So, and probably of Sy also, represents a partial fusion of this and the following verse or verses

Reconstruction

damanaka āha katham āhār(amātr)ārthī (*kevalam*) bhavān *sarvas tāvat pradhāna*sevām *kurute* viśes*ārthī sādhu cedam ucyate*

Comments

The words damanaka āha with T, SP, H, Spl, Pn, except that T prefixes karatakam, and H inserts sarosam Both may be presumed to be secondary, being unsupported elsewhere

katham is clearly original (T, SP, H, Pn, Spl kim).

āhāramātrārthī with T, SPβ (ed.), Hp, Pn, āhārārthī SPα, Hm, Spl. It is interesting to observe that both readings are found in the internal tradition of both SP and H. In general SPα is apt to give the true reading of SP, but this is not always the case, and the agreement of SPβ (ed.) and Hp may be that of the Ur-SP. Either reading could be changed into the other so easily and naturally that there is no way of deciding the question with confidence. The evidence for -mātra- is strong but not conclusive, it must go in parentheses.

kevalam seems at first sight pretty surely original, being found in T, Hm, Spl, Pn, and (in the cpd. kevalodarapūranam) in So. In spite of the fact that it is redundant if -mātra- is original, I should accept it but for the fact that it occurs also in the following verses, from which it seems quite clear that So, at least, got the entire cpd. of which it forms a part (for -udarapūranam is certainly derived from the verses). And since it occurs neither in SP (α or β) nor in Hp, it seems likely that it was secondarily inserted in the ms. or mss. of H to which Hm goes back. This leaves only T and Jn as authorities for kevalam here, and because they are interrelated and have many secondary features in common, we cannot be certain that kevalam was original. It must therefore go in parentheses.

bhavān is supported by T, SP, H, Spl, Pn (slightly transposed in Spl and [?] Hm), and hence is certainly original.

sarvas tāvat is found only in T in just this form. But note So sarvadā (or °thā), and Sy *wer immer* (= sarvas) einem Herrn dient, tut dies *doch* (= tāvat?). These readings, and especially Sy, seem to show that the subject of the verb which follows, in the original, was not the preceding bhavān (as in SPα, H, Pn—by omission of the word sarvas), but rather that bhavān was the subject of an asti understood, to which āhāra(mātra)-arthī was predicate. The agreement of T, So, and Pa in making the subject of the following verb general establishes sarvas (tāvat) as at least the general sense of the original. Both words must, of course, be put in italics, as we have only T as authority for their exact language. tāvat need hardly be put in parentheses, since its sense is supported by Sy "doch".

pradhānasevām kurute is the reading of Pn, adopted by Hertel also in T as the probable reading to which his corrupt mss. go back. This illustrates the fact referred to above, p. 38, that Pn often shows signs of having had before him a better text of T than any of our mss. The sense is supported by Sy (einem Herrn dient) and So (antarbhūya prabhoh), and by SPα and H sevate (preceded in Hm by rājānam, perhaps a good old reading, cf. SPβ [ed.] rājānam avalokaya, which otherwise is obviously a corruption). The evidence shows that some form or derivative of the root sev occurred in the original, for the rest we can be sure only of the general sense. Therefore we print these words in italics except for the letters sev, which are roman.

viśesārthī with T, Pn viśesārthitayā of course does not prove this to be original. But So viśesah shows not only that the general sense was such, but that the stem viśesa- was present, for there is no evidence of

dependence between So and T or Pn, and it is hardly likely that the verbal coincidence is a mere accident The other versions omit it

The fact that H adds here etan na yuktam (Hm etad ayuktam uktam tvayā), and Spl tan na yuktam, is probably not to be regarded as pointing to anything original The value of H as evidence is diminisht by the failure of SP to show anything of the sort, and this is such a common stock phrase that it is easy to suppose that it was inserted independently It would be possible to insert it in the text in parentheses after viśe-sārthī, but my experience with H and Spl makes me so confident that they do not here reproduce the original, that I refrain from doing so

At the end occurs in T, Pn sādhu cedam ucyate That something of the same general sort occurred here is indicated by SPα tathā ca, H yatah, Spl uktam ca There is no special reason for choosing one as the original rather than another, except the general principle that when other things are absolutely equal, the chances favor T (here supported by Pn) Hence I print T's reading, of course in italics, since only the general sense and not the exact language is assured

I vs 7

Occurs in the same position in T I 6, SP I 8, N II 5 Hp II 31, Hm II 35, Spl I 22, Pn I 9, Sy I 3, Ar, and (fused with last part of preceding, I § 35, and possibly with next vs) in So 34 ab

Reconstruction

suhrdām upakārakāraṇād dviṣatām *a*py apakārakāraṇāt
nṛpasaṃśraya iṣyate budhāir jatharam ko na bibharti kevalam

Variants

b, Tβ, Spl, Pn cāpy for apy

So (cf preceding passage) ko hi nāma na kurvīta kevalodarapūraṇam (the last word seems to show influence of the next vs)

Sy denn der Bauch kann sich uberall sattigen, sondern darum dient er, um seinen Nachsten Gutes und seinen Feinden Uebles zuzufugen

Ar as Sy

Comments

The entire text is certainly original with the possible exception of cāpy for apy in b The agreement of Tα with SP, N, and H makes it highly probable that apy is right, for Spl and Pn are secondarily related to T and their agreement with Tβ is therefore no proof of originality However, the change is so slight that it could easily be made independently, in either direction, so that we cannot be certain I therefore print apy, but print the a- in italics as not being literally certain (it may have been cā-)

I vs 8

Occurs in the same position in SP I. 9, N II 6, Hp II 32, Hm II 37, Spl I 23, Pn I 10, cf. So 34 b, quoted under preceding vs.

Reconstruction

yasmiñ jīvati jīvanti bahavaḥ sa tu jīvatu
bako 'pi kim na kurute cañcvā svodarapūraṇam

Variants

b, Spl so 'tra, SP ed, H jīvatu (SPα, N, Jn text) c, Hm kāko 'pi Jn vayānsi kim na kurvanti d, SP °posanam, but SPα text

Comments

Since the Jain versions are independent of SP-N, their agreement with SPα and N in b establishes the original as jīvati, in all probability In c it is impossible to be sure of the language, whether bako 'pi kurute or vayānsi kurvanti, since SP-N-H agree on one, and Jn on the other —The literal identity of So's -odarapūraṇam with the end of this vs is not likely to be accidental, tho the preceding words in So point rather to vs 7 The two vss are doubtless fused in So

Before the next vs both T and SP read api ca, which is therefore to be attributed to the original

I vs 9

Occurs in the same position in T I 7, SP I 10, N II 7, Hp II 36, Hm II 41, Pn I 12, Sy I 4, Ar, and So, 36, not quite in the same position, but separated from the preceding by a śloka and a half which corresponds to §§ 43 and 44 of my reconstruction

Reconstruction

svalpasnāyuvasāvaśeṣamalinam nirmānsam apy asthi *goḥ*
śvā labdhvā paritoṣam eti na ca tat tasya kṣudh*aḥ* śāntaye
sinho jambukam aṅkam āgatam api tyaktvā nihanti dvipam
sarvaḥ kṛcchragato 'pi vāñchati janaḥ sattvānurūpam phalam.

Variants

a, T svalpam T, SP, N °vasekamalinam (but SPα text) N, H, Pn asthikam for asthi goḥ. b, H bhavet for ca tat SP, Hp, Pn kṣudhā, but SPα with N, Hm, and T °ah

So [mārvam] ātmānurūpam hi phalam sarvo 'pi vāñchati,
śvā tuṣyaty asthimātrena kesarī (Brockhaus keś?) dhāvati dvipe

Sy Ein träger Mann freut sich auch an etwas Verachtlichem, wie der Hund, der einen trockenen Knochen gefunden hat und sich in seiner Gemeinheit uber ihn freut, obgleich er keinen Genuß von ihm hat Aber der Strebsame und Weise gibt sich nur im Notfall mit ein wenig Gutem zufrieden, und strebt vielmehr nach Vermehrung, wie es ihm zukommt, gleich dem Lowen, der einen Hasen gefaßt hat, dann aber einen Wildesel erblickt und den Hasen preisgibt in der Hoffnung auf den Wildesel

Ar in sense as Sy

Comments

In a the agreement of Ur SP (establisht by unanimity of SP, N, H) with Pn proves that svalpa is original, against T's svalpam But in the

case of the two other syllables of pāda a and one syllable of pāda b which I print in italics, the disagreement among the offshoots of Ur-SP leaves us in doubt as to the original Both T and Pn are independent of Ur-SP, and when, as here, some of the Ur-SP texts agree with T, and others with a variant of Pn, we can only guess which was the original The chances seem to favor asthi goh, since asthikam looks like a *lectio facilior* —Note that So here preserves several of the words of the original quite literally (-ānurūpam, phalam, sarvo 'pi vāñchati, śvā, asthi) As to Sy, its correspondence is also fairly close, but note how it changes the Indian animals, jackal and elephant, into a hare and a wild-ass

I vs 10

Occurs in the same place in T I 8, SP I 11, N II 8, Hp II 37, Hm II 42, Pn I 13, Sy I 5, Ar

Reconstruction

lāṅgūlacālanam adhaś caraṇāvapātam
bhūmāu nipatya vadanodaradarśanam ca
śvā piṇḍadasya kurute gajapuṅgavas tu
dhīram vilokayati cāṭuśatāiś ca bhuṅkte

Variants

a, SP °āvaghātam (but SPα text, which N also intends with its corrupt °āvasāna) b, Tα caranodara° c, SPα madavāranas tu d, Tβ na for ca

Sy Der Hund dagegen wedelt lange seinen Schweif, [bis man ihm einen Knochen vorwirft (this is omitted in Sy but supplied by Schulthess from Ar),] während der übermütige [Schult says the word means literally "trunkene" or "brunstige"] Elefant seine Stärke und Kraft kennt und, wenn man ihm ehrerbietig Nahrung reicht, sich sehr rar macht, bis er frißt

Ar in sense as Sy

Comments

The text is certain thruout But note that Sy seems to indicate agreement with SPα madavāranas in c (perhaps this word was added as a gloss in the original, or, more likely, independently in the archetypes of SPα and Pa) The Arabic texts contain no such epithet, however

I vs 11

Occurs only in T I 9 and SP I 12, but in the same place, and as T and SP are independent, doubtless original

Reconstruction

vidyāvikramajam yo 'tti sādhu so 'ttī 'ha mānavah
śvā 'pi nāma svalāṅgūlacālanād *balim* aśnute

Variants

d, for balim of Tα, Tβ has phalam, and SP piṇḍam (which latter may be the original reading)

The similarity of this verse to the preceding makes it barely possible that it is a secondary insertion, made independently in T and SP, but

there are so few such, comparatively, in the original text of SP (α), that this is unlikely

I vs 12

Occurs in the same place in T I 10, SP I 13, N II 9, Hp II 38, Hm II 43, Spl I 24, Sy I 6, Ai

Reconstruction

yaj jīvyate kṣaṇam api prathitam manuṣyair
vijñānavikramayaśobhir abhagnamānam
tan nāma jīvitam iha pravadanti *tajjñāh*
kāko 'pi jīvati ciram *ca* balim ca bhuṅkte

Variants

a, SP yo (α yaj) jīvati prathito (α °tam) manuṣyo, N corrupt, intends text (yakṣīvyata prathitam manuṣyair), H text (except Hm jīvati) b, Spl vijñānaśauryavibhavāryaguṇaih sametam SP alaṅghyamānah, but α text (v l °mānah) c, SP iti for iha, but α text Tα loke for tajjñāh, Tβ and one ms of SP santah d, Tβ, N, Spl, and two mss of SP ciram ca, Tα (ed), SP, H cirāya N bhuktvā

Sy Wer ruhmvoll und mit vielen lebt, wird, wenn er auch nur kurze Zeit lebt, für langlebig geachtet, aber wer unter Plagen allein lebt, dessen Leben wird, auch wenn er lange lebt, nicht für ein Leben, sondern für ein Un-Leben geachtet

Ar in sense as Sy

Comments

As to a, it is evident that the Ur-SP read exactly as T and Spl, and this is therefore certainly the true text In b also the text is subject to no doubts In c the only possible doubt attaches to the last word, which we should say was tajjñāh, with SP and Spl (which are independent of each other), without any question, but for the agreement of a single ms of SP with Tβ, santah It is highly probable that tajjñāh is the original and santah a secondary variant. Tα loke is surely secondary

I vs 13

Occurs in the same place in T I 11, SP I 14, N II 10, Spl I 25, Pn I 14

Reconstruction

supūrā vāi kunadikā supūro mūṣakāñjalih
susamtuṣṭah kāpuruṣah svalpakenā 'pi tuṣyati

Variants

a, Spl syāt for vāi b, Spl, and v l of SP, mūsikā°, so N intends c, SPα, N and Pn susamtoṣah, SP ed, T, Spl text SP kupuruṣah (but α text) d, SP svalpah ke°, but α text or °pam ke°

Comments

In b either mūṣakā° or mūsikā° may have been in the original In c also it is impossible to decide between susamtoṣah and susamtuṣṭah, as the Ur SP cannot be determined The rest is certain

I vs 14

Occurs in the same place in T I 12, SP I 15, N II 11, Hp II 39, Hm II 45, Pn I 15, Sy I 7, Ar

Reconstruction

ahitahitavicāraśūnyabuddheh śrutisamayāir bahubhir bahiskrtasya
udarabharanamātrakevalecchoh purusapaśoś ca paśoś ca ko viśesah

Variants

b, T śruta° Tα pariskrtasya, Hm trasku° c, Pn °mātram eva lipsoh

Sy Zu den Rindern und Schafen ist der Mensch zu rechnen, der kein anderes Interesse hat als seinen Bauch

Ar in sense as Sy.

Comments seem unnecessary, the entire text is certain

I vs 15

Occurs in the same place in SP (ed.) I 16, Pn I. 16 But not found in SPα nor in N nor H, nor anywhere else As the sense is very similar to that of the preceding verse, I regard it as highly likely that it was inserted independently in SPβ and Pn, it is easy to see how different redactors, happening to be familiar with this vs, could insert it after the preceding vs which they found in their originals Therefore I enclose it in parentheses as being of more than doubtful originality

Reconstruction

(guruśakatadhuramdharas trnāśī samavisamesu ca lāngalāvakarsī
jagadupakaranam pavitrayonir narapaśunā *sa viśiṣyate* gavendrah)

Variants

b, Pn °āpakarsī, and so one ms of SP, but °āvakarsī is a better reading c, SP °karane (cannot be right) d, Pn kim u mīyate (most mss katham upamīyate) for sa viśi°

Comments

The variants of Pn in b and d may be right—assuming that the verse is original at all

I § 36

T A 12	karataka āha āvām tāvad apradhānāu, kim āvayor anena vyāpārena
SP 105	karataka āha āvām tāvad apradhānāu,tat[4] kim anena vyāpārena
Hp 54 15 / Hm 13 8	karatako brūte āvām tāvad apradhānāu,tadāpy** āvayoh kim anayā vicāranayā
Spl 10 1	karataka āha āvām tāvad apradhānāu, tat kim āvayor anena vyāpārena
Pn 6 32	karataka āha āvām tāvad apradhānāu, kim anena vyāpārena

Not in So or Ks

Sy A 6 Klilg sprach Prufe die Sache, denn jeder muß sich selbst erkennen, und wem das seiner Stellung Entsprechende zuteil geworden

ist, der soll sich darüber freuen Und unsere Stellung ist nicht so, daß wir uns nicht mit dem begnugen sollten, was wir haben

Ar in sense as Sy

¹SP ed begins with etac chrutvā, which α omits, α also omits tat, a v l of α adds asmākam at the end *¹Hp tathāpy

Reconstruction

karataka āha āvām tāvad apradhānāu, (*tat*) kim āvayor anena vyāpāreṇa

Comments

The text seems certain in almost every word Note that āvayor is supported by H, indicating that Ur-SP had it, tho it has dropt out in SP The word tat is the only doubtful one, being not found in T, SPα or Pn, tho found in SPβ (ed) and Spl, whereas H has tadāpy or tathāpy The chances seem to me about even that tat, or at least an equivalent, was in the original

I § 37

T A 12	damanaka āha	kiyatā kālena pradhāno vāpradhāno bhavati
Tβ	so 'bravīt bhadra,	kiyatā kālena pradhāno vā bhavati
SP 105	damanakah	kiyatā kālenāpradhāno 'pi pradhānatām āpnoti uktam ca
SPα	so 'bravīt	kiyatā kālenāpradhānah pradhāno bhavati uktam ca.
Hp 54 16 / Hm 13. 9	damanako brūte*	kiyatā kālenāmātyah* pradhānatām apradhānatām vā labhate* yatah
Spl 10 8	damanaka āha	mā māivam vada
Pn 6 32	so 'bravīt bhadra,	kiyatāpi kālena pradhāno 'pradhāno 'pi bhavati uktam ca

Not in So or Ks

Sy A 6, end Dmng sprach ("vs 8") Der Strebsame und der Nichtstrebsame bleiben nicht auf einer Rangstufe [A misunderstanding of the Sanskrit, but clearly pointing to pradhāna and apradhāna]

Ar? Perhaps represented by OSp p 50, middle Las dignidades e las medidas de los homnes son comunas e son contrarias —I find nothing like this in most of the Arabic texts, but OSp frequently preserves the original Pahlavi better than any other Ar texts

*Hp dam° punar āha, v l simply damanakah. Hm °āmātyāh . labhante

Reconstruction·

so 'bravīt (*bhadra,*) kiyatā kālenā 'pradhāno (*'pi*) pradhāno bhavati. (*uktam ca*)

Comments.

so 'bravīt, with Tβ, SPα, and Pn, seems a good guess at the original but can hardly be regarded as certain, hence the italics

bhadia, doubtful, since found only in Tβ and the dependent Pn
kiyatā kālena is establisht by T, SP, H, and Pn (Pn varies by inserting api)
The agreement of SP (edition in sense, and α, the more original, in almost exact language) with Pn (which is only transposed in order) seems to make apradhāno ('pi) pradhāno substantially certain, only the particle api being not entirely certain (since omitted in SPα), tho I think it is highly probable, I put it in parentheses H and T have, seemingly independently, altered the idea by making it two-sided instead of one sided, but the only side which is appropriate to the present situation is that one *out of office* may get *into office*, not the reverse The fact that SP agrees so closely with Pn indicates that it furnishes us with the reading of Ur SP, from which it follows that H is secondary
bhavati is establisht by T, Pn, and SPα
uktam ca is found in SP and Pn, H has yatah In spite of the agreement of two independent versions, it can hardly be considered certain, since all versions frequently add such a phrase before any sententious stanza

I vs 16

Occurs in the same place in T I 13, SP I 17, N II 12, Hp II 40, Hm II 46, Pn I 18, Sy I 8 (second part), Ar

Reconstruction

na kasya cit kas cid iha prabhāvād bhavaty udāro 'bhimatah khalo vā
loke gurutvam viparītatām *ca* svacestitāny eva naram nayanti

Variants

a, H svabhāvād c, N, H, Pn vā for ca
Sy Denn der Strebsame gelangt von einer niedrigen Stufe zur Hohe, und der Nichtstrebsame kommt durch seine Indolenz von der Hohe zu Geringem herunter
Ar in sense as Sy

Comments

The only possible doubt attaches to ca in pāda c We cannot be sure what Ur SP read, since one of its branches reads ca and the other vā, T agrees with the former, Pn with the latter The chances are about even, but perhaps slightly in favor of T and SP Hence I print ca, in italics

I vs 17

Occurs in the same place in T I 15 (after insertion of I 14, found nowhere else and presumably unoriginal), SP I 18, N II 13, Hp II 41, Hm II 47, Pn I 19, Sy I 9, Ar

Reconstruction

āropyate 'śmā śailāgram yathā yatnena bhūyasā
nipātyate sukhenā 'dhas tathā 'tmā gunadosayoh

Variants

a, H śilā śāile, but Hp v l 'śmā śāilāgre SPα and N also °āgre b, T, Hm yatnena mahatā yathā c, T, Hm ksanenādhas SPα sukhenāiva Pn pātyate sukham evādhas

Sy Und schwer ist es für einen, sich aus der Geringheit zur Hohe zu erheben, während es dem Tragen leicht ist, zur Geringheit zu kommen, gleichwie es schwer ist, einen Stein in die Hohe zu heben, aber leicht, ihn zu Boden zu werfen

Ar texts mostly agree in sense with Sy (JCap and Eleazar are not clear, and may possibly indicate a reading more like the Sanskrit)

Comments

In a the only question is śāilāgram or °gre, and the former is proved to be right by the agreement of T, Pn with SPβ, showing that SPα and N have here probably departed (independently?) from the Ur-SP In b and c the most interesting and instructive thing is the agreement of Hm with T It is as certain as anything of this kind can be that the agreement is purely accidental, that is, that the scribe who is ultimately responsible for Hm's readings did not know the T, but simply knew the stanza in this form as a floating proverb As for his having inherited this reading from the original, the very idea is absurd, for the agreement of SP, N, and Hp is absolutely conclusive as to what the Ur-SP read, and Pn's agreement herewith further establishes the original Pañc. Accordingly we have a clear case of a floating proverbial stanza which is responsible for the same change being made in two entirely unrelated Pañcatantra texts —The word nipātyate is establisht by T and the Ur-SP, the word adhas by all texts but SPα, and that sukhena rather than ksanena was original is shown by Pn (sukham) in comparison with SP, N, and Hp

I § 38

T A 13 tad bhadrāyatto (em Hertel as SP) hy ātmā sarvasya
SP 111 tasmād (α tat) bhadrātmāyatto hy ātmā sarvasya
Hp 55 3 }
Hm 14 4 } tad bhadra svayatnāyatto (Hp prayat°) hy ātmā sarvasya
Not in Jn, So, Ks

Sy A 7 Darum sollen auch wir bestrebt sein, unsere Stellung zu fordern. Ar in sense as Sy.

Reconstruction

tad bhadrā *'tmā*yatto hy ātmā sarvasya

Comments

The perfect agreement of T, SPα, and H, and the fairly close correspondence of Pa in sense, establishes every word except ātmāyatto, or rather the first syllable of that word The reading of SP is adopted by Hertel in T, which is obviously corrupt, and the chances are that this is the original But the first syllable must be printed in italics, since SP is the only authority we have for it; even H varies

I § 39

T A 13	karatakah (β °ka āha) athā 'tra bhavān kim kartumanāh
SP 111	karatakah (α °ka āha) atha bhavān kim vaksyati (α bravīti)
Hp 55 4 } Hm 14 5 }	karatako vadati / brūte atha bhavān kim bravīti
Spl 11 8	karataka āha atha bhavān kim kartumanāh
Pn 7 9	karataka āha atha bhavān kim vaktumanāh

Not in So or Ks

Sy A 7 3 Klilg sagte So sprich jetzt, was begehrst du?

Ar in sense as Sy (JCap 42 11 Quibus nunc firmasti animum?)

Reconstruction

karataka āha athā (?'tra) bhavān kim *kartumanāh*

Comments

The word atra is found only in T and its originality is more than doubtful, yet it may have been omitted in the others, and therefore it is safer to indicate the slight possibility that it is original by inserting it in parentheses with a question mark — Otherwise the original is quite certain (āha is guaranteed by the agreement of SPα with Tβ and Jn), except for the last word T and Spl seem to establish the reading of Ur-T as kartumanāh SPα and H establish the reading of Ur-SP as bravīti Pn looks like a sort of compromise between the two, but may well be based solely on the reading of T Spl, varied independently by Pn himself Pa supports kartumanāh better than bravīti, and I therefore prefer the former, but it must be printed in italics, since we have only the single stream of tradition, the Ur-T and its offshoots, to guarantee it literally

I § 40

T A 13	damanakah ayam tāvat svāmī bhīrus ca bhīruparivāraś ca mūdhamatih
Tβ	so 'bravīt [&c] bhīruparivāraś
SP 111	so 'bravīt ayam āvayoh svāmī piṅgalako bhīto bhītaparivāraś ca mūdhamatih
SPα	damanaka āha [&c]
Hp 55 4 } Hm 14 5 }	sa āha ayam tāvat svāmī piṅgalakah kuto 'pi bhayāt[*] sacakitah parivrtyopavistah
Spl 11 8	so 'bravīt adyāsmatsvāmī piṅgalako bhīto bhītaparivāraś ca vartate.
Pn 7 9	so 'bravīt ayam tāvad asmatsvāmī bhīto bhītaparivāraś ca mūdhamanāh samtisthate

Not in So or Ks

Sy A 7 4 Dmng sprach Ich gehe direkt zum Fürsten, denn er ist ein Kindskopf und sein Gefolge ist furchtsam

Ar in sense as Sy

[*] Hm kāranāt

Reconstruction

so 'bravīt ayam tāvat svāmī (piṅgalako) bhīto bhītaparivāraś ca mūdhamatih

Comments

so 'bravīt is pretty firmly establisht by Tβ, SP ed, and Jn

ayam is in all Sanskrit texts but Spl

tāvat is establisht beyond reasonable doubt by the agreement of H with T, Pn, it is fairly clear that Ur-SP read tāvat as H, and that SP's āvayoh is a secondary change (probably due to a phonetic mistake, the sounds -āva- are common to the two words)

svāmī is found in all texts (cf Sy Fursten) Jn prefixes asmat-, doubtless secondarily, probably no connexion between this and SP āvayoh, which, as has just been indicated, probably replaces tāvat of Ur-SP

piṅgalako was found in Ur SP and in Spl, and may have been original, but it would be very easy to add it secondarily after svāmī, and the lack of it in T, Pn makes me dubious Hence parentheses

bhīto bhītaparivāraś ca is guaranteed by SP and Jn, T varies slightly, H more radically

mūdhamatih is guaranteed by T and SP (cf Pn mūdhamanāh, Sy Kindskopf)

There was no verb at the end The additions of Jn and H are evidently secondary

I § 41: Part 1

T A 13	karatakah (β	so 'bravīt)	katham bhavāñ jānāti
SP 112		so 'bravīt	katham bhavāñ jānāti
Hp 55 5 / Hm 14 7	karatako	brūte	kim tatra (Hm tat) tvam jānāsi
Spl 11 11	karataka	āha	katham vetti bhavān yad bhayāvisto 'yam svāmī.
Pn 7 10		so 'bravīt	katham bhavāñ jānāti

Not in So or Ks

Sy A 7 8 Klług sprach Woher weißt du, daß der Lowe bestürzt ist?

Ar in sense as Sy

Part 2

T damanakah (β °ka āha)		kim atra jñeyam		uktam ca
SP damanakah (α °ka āha)		kim atrāviditam* asti		uktam ca
H damanako vadati (Hm brūte)		kim atrāviditam asti.		uktam ca
Spl so	'bravīt	kim atra jñeyam	yata	uktam ca.
Pn damanaka	āha	kim atra jñātavyam		

Not in So or Ks

Sy Dmng sprach Aus Anzeichen erkenne ich es.

Ar in sense as Sy

*SPα atrāpy avi°

Reconstruction

so 'bravīt katham bhavāñ jānāti. damanaka āha kim atra *jñeyam* uktam ca

Comments

so 'bravīt with SP, Tβ, and Pn, quite clearly establishing the original

katham bhavāñ jānāti with T, SP, Pn, slight and evidently independent variations in H, Spl

The additions of Spl (yad bhayāvisto svāmī) and Sy (daß der Lowe bestuizt ist) happen to coincide closely, but they are just the sort of addition that would be made in a free paraphrase such as Pahlavi, and in an expansive text such as Spl, and the negative agreement of all the other texts demonstrates, in my opinion, that these words were not in the original

damanaka āha with Tβ, SPα, Pn

kim atra with all Sanskrit texts

jñeyam with T, Spl (synonym jñātavyam in Pn), establishing Ur-T But Ur-SP aviditam (asti) The two expressions are practically synonymous, and there is no way of telling which was original, as we have only two independent streams of tradition that offer evidence, and each gives evidence that is internally unanimous but mutually discordant. One or the other must be printed in italics In such a case, other things being absolutely equal (as they seem to be here), I give preference to T —If jñeyam is right, there was probably no asti after it

uktam ca is guaranteed by T, SP, H, Spl

I vs 18

Occurs in the same place in T I 16, SP I. 19, N II. 14, Hp II 43, Hm II 49, Spl I 43, Pn I 20, Sy I 10, Ar

Reconstruction

udīrito 'rthah paśunā 'pi grhyate hayāś ca nāgāś ca vahanti coditāh
anuktam apy ūhati pandito janaḥ pareñgitajñānaphalā hi buddhayah

Variants

a, N budhyate b, Pn noditāh, H deśitāh (Hp v 1 tāditāh)

Sy Denn ein Weiser erkennt aus jemandes Gesicht, Gewohnheiten und Blick seine Gesinnung und was er tun will

Ar (Wolff p. 12) in sense as Sy.

Comments seem unnecessary, the entire verse is certain.

I § 42

T A 14	tad enam adyai 'va prajñāprabhāvenā 'tmīkarisyāmi *
SP 116	tad enam adyai 'va prajñāprabhāvenā 'tmīyam karisyāmi
Hp 55 13	tad atra bhayaprastāve 'ham etam prajñābalenātmīyam karisyāmi
Hm 14, bottom	atra bhayaprastāve prajñābalenāham enam svāminam ātmīyam karisyāmi
Spl 11 20	tad adyainam bhayākulam prāpya svabuddhiprabhāvena nirbhayam krtvā vaśīkrtya ca nijām sācivyapadavīm samāsādayisyāmi.
Pn 7 18	tad enam adyaivātmaprajñāprabhāvena vaśīkarisyāmi

Not in So or Ks

Sy A 7 5 (before § 41) vielleicht kann ich in dieser Bestürzung bewirken, daß mich der Lowe zu sich heranzieht und zum Vertrauten macht

Ar in sense and position as Sy

*T mss have minor variants

Reconstruction·

tad enam (*bhayākulam prāpya*) 'dyā 'va prajñāprabhāvenā 'tmī(yam) karisyāmi

Comments

The phrase bhayākulam prāpya (Spl) seems supported by H bhayaprastāve and by Pa (Sy in dieser Bestürzung) It is at least possible that it is original, as otherwise we must suppose that it was added independently by these three versions or their archetypes, none of the three are interrelated I should be more confident of the originality of the phrase, were it not for the fact that both T and SP lack it, and even a negative agreement between them is worth heeding when they otherwise correspond so closely as they do in this section, for this means that they have here preserved the original with remarkable fidelity Because of the doubts raised by this fact, I put the phrase in parentheses, tho I think it likely that something of the sort was in the original

The rest of the section is verbally establisht by T and SP together, with the others following in sense and partly in language The only question is whether the original had ātmīkarisyāmi with T, or ātmīyam kar° with Ur-SP (SP, H) The other texts have different synonyms and do not decide the matter I print ātmī(yam), indicating that the original reading may have been either one

I § 43

T A 14 karaṭakah		bhadra, anabhijño bhavān sevādharmasya, katham ātmikarisyasi.
Tβ	so 'bravīt	[lacuna after bhadra]
SP 116 karatakah		bhadra, tvam sevānabhijñah
SPα karaṭako	'bravīt	anabhijño bhavān sevādharmasya
Hp 55 17 / Hm 15. 3	karaṭako 'bravīt	(Hm brūte) sakhe, tvam sevānabhijñaḥ
Spl 11 21	karataka āha	anabhijño bhavān sevādharmasya, tat katham enam vaśīkarisyasi.
Pn 7 18	karaṭaka āha	anabhijño bhavān kila sevādharmasya, tat kathaya katham ātmīkarisyasi

So 34 cd, 35 ab evam damanakenokte sādhuh karatako 'bravīt, svecchayātipraveśo yo na dharmah sevakasya sah (Cf § 45)

Not in Kṣ

Sy A 8 Klilg sprach· Da du noch nicht mit Herrschern verkehrt hast und im Dienste nicht erfahren bist, wie ist es da moglich, daß der Lowe dich zu sich heranzieht und zum Vertrauten macht?

Ar in sense as Sy

Reconstruction

karatako *'bravīt* bhadra, anabhijño bhavān sevādharmasya, *(tat) katham ātmīkarisyasi*

Comments

karatako with all texts except Tβ

'bravīt, Tβ, SPα, Hp, So, āha, Jn, no verb, Tα, SPβ (ed) The word would seem well establisht, but since it is merely a verb of saying and so particularly subject to secondary substitutions, I do not consider it absolutely certain Hence italics

bhadra with T and SP (ed), H sakhe, omitted in SPα, Jn The agreement of T with part of the SP tradition, and in sense H, is sufficient to establish the original with reasonable confidence, the others differ only negatively, by omitting the word

anabhijño bhavān sevādharmasya, with T, SPα, Jn (Pn inserting kila) SP ed and H have a paraphrase, So (containing the stem dharma) points to our text as original The sense also in Pa

The rest of the passage is found, among Sanskrit versions, only in T and Jn, which are secondarily interrelated, hence its language cannot be assumed to belong to the original, and it must be printed in italics But the sense is clearly supported by Pa (Sy wie ist es da moglich etc), showing that something of this general sense was in the original —The word tat (Jn) is not found in T and need not have been in the original, hence parentheses around it

I § 44: Part 1

T A 14	damanakah		katham aham sevānabhijñah
SP 116	damanakah (α °ka āha)		bhadra, katham aham sevānabhijñah
Hp 55 20 / Hm 15 6	damanako	vadati / brūte	bhadra, katham aham sevānabhijñah paśya
Spl 11 22	damanaka āha		[insertion]
Pn 7 19	so	'bravīt	bhadra, katham aham na sevābhijñah [insertion as Spl]

So 35 cd iti coktah karatakenedam damanako 'bhyadhāt

Not in Ks Sy, Ar only (Sy A 8 4) Dmng sprach

Part 2

T	nanu mayāi 'sa	sakalo 'nujīvidharmo	vijñātah	api ca
SP	nanu mayā	sakalānujīvidharmo	jñātah	uktam ca
SPα	nanu mayā	sakalo 'nujīvidharmo	vijñātah	tathā hi [1]
H, So, Ks nothing				
Spl		sakalo 'py anujīvidharmo	vijñāta iti	
Pn		sakalo 'py anujīvidharmo	vijñātah iti	uktam ca
Sy, Ar nothing				

[1] Some mss omit tathā hi.

Reconstruction

damanaka *āha* bhadra, katham aham sevānabhijñah nanu mayāi (*'sa*) sakalo 'nujīvidharmo vijñātah *uktam* ca

Comments

damanaka āha with SPα and Spl, the verb cannot be regarded as certain, but the name is found in all versions but Pn

bhadra, with Ur-SP (SP and H) and Pn

katham aham sevānabhijñah with T and Ur-SP, Pn also very close

nanu mayā with T and SP

esa only in T hence parentheses and italics

sakalo 'nujīvidharmo vijñātah with T, SPα, and Jn (Jn insert api and add iti), SP ed varies slightly

uktam ca with SP ed and Pn, T api ca, SPα reads tathā hi or omits The word uktam is hardly certain, but ca seems safe

I vs 19

Occurs in the same place in T I 17, SP I 20, N II 15, Pn I 22, Sy I 11, Ar

Reconstruction

ko 'tibhārah samarthānām kim dūram vyavasāyinām
ko videsah suvidyānām kah parah priyavādinām

Variants

c, T ed with α, N, and v l of SP, savid°, Tβ, Pn, and SP ed text We cannot be certain as to which is original, since either makes good sense and the streams of tradition vary internally

Sy Für den erfahrenen Mann gibt's kein Unternehmen, das ihm verschlossen wäre Denn für das Tier gibt's Umherirren und für den Löwen fremdes Gebiet, für den Weisen und Unterwürfigen aber gibt's keinen Fremden [The word Unterwürfigen represents an emendation by Schulthess the ms has a word meaning "Vernünftigen," and this should certainly be kept, cf KF 7 6 "a wise and knowing man"]

Ar in sense as Sy

I § 45

T A 15 karatakah (β °ka āha) kadācid asāv anucitapraveśād bhavantam avamanyate.

SP 120 karatakah (α °ka āha) kadācit tvām anavasarapraveśād avamanyate svāmī

Hp 56.10 } Hm 15, foot } karatako brūte kadācit tvām anavasarapraveśād avamanyate svāmī

Pn 7 24 karataka āha kadācid ayam anucitasthānapraveśād bhavantam avamanyeta.

Not in Spl or Ks.

So (cf 35a, under § 43, also) 37 etac chrutvā karatako 'vādīd evam krte yadi, kupyati praty uta svāmī tad viśesaphalam kutah

Sy p 6, l 7 Kl̥lg sprach [next vs; then, A 9] Dich zieht der Löwe nicht zu sich heran, und es dürfte dir nicht leicht sein, jederzeit mit ihm ins Gespräch zu kommen Wie kannst du es erreichen, daß er dich zu sich heranzieht und zum Vertrauten macht? [Last part is a repetition of the end of § 43]

Ar in sense as Sy

Reconstruction

karataka āha kadācit *tvām anavasarapraveśād* avamanyate *svāmī*

Comments

karataka with all texts, āha with Tβ, SPα, Pn, which seems sufficient proof of its originality

For the rest, the words left roman are literally found in T, SP, and Pn (except that Pn has avamanyeta), the sense also in So, Pa The words printed in italics I read with Ur-SP (SP and H), whereas T, Pn have synonyms, and vary the order Possibly the occurrence of the word svāmī in So may be taken as some support for that word, instead of T asāv or Pn ayam Otherwise there is little reason to choose one version rather than the other

I § 46

T A 15 damanakah (β so 'bravīt) asty etat tathāpi
SP 120 so 'bravīt astv (v l asty) evam tathāpy avasyam (α om) anujīvinām (α °nā) sāmnidhyam karanīyam uktam ca (α om u° ca)
Hp 56 11 } so 'bravīt (Hm sa cāha) astv evam tathāpy anujīvinā sāmni-
Hm 16 1 } dhyam (Hm svāmisām°) avaśyam karanīyam yatah
Pn 7 24 so 'bravīt asty evam
Not in Spl, So or Ks
Sy A 9, end Dmng sprach
Ar, JCap 43 6 Verum est, ait Dimna, quod dicis, sed—

Reconstruction

so 'bravīt asty evam tathā 'py (*anujīvinā sāmnidhyam avaśyam karanīyam uktam ca*)

Comments

so 'bravīt with Tβ, SP, H, Pn

asty with T, Pn, and v l of SP, seems more probable than astv of H and SP ed, and indeed seems pretty sure

evam, with SP, H, and Pn, is clearly original rather than etat of T

tathāpi with T, SP, H

The parenthetized phrase only in Ur-SP, and therefore cannot be regarded as a sure part of the original, but since Ur-SP seldom expands, it is at least very possibly original The reading of H, which I adopt, is partly supported by SPα, partly by SPβ (ed)

I vs 20

Occurs in the same place in T I. 18, SP I 21, N II 16, Hp II 51, Hm II 58, Pn I 28, and nearly in the same place in Spl I 35 (following our § 37) and Pa (Sy I 12, inserted in our § 45, Ar as Sy) Cf also Ks 280 (25) cd

Reconstruction

āsannam eva nrpatir bhajate manusyam
  vidyāvihīnam akulīnam asamstutam vā
prāyena bhūmipatayah pramadā latāś ca
  yah pārśvato vasati tam parivestayanti

Variants

b, T prajñāvihīnam, N vidyāvinodam Spl asamskrtam, SP apanditam, H asamgatam d, N, Jn bhavati for vasati of T, SP, H Jn yat tat Ks āsanna eva prāyena (SP and Ma v l prahvena) nrpāh kāntāś ca sādarāh

Sy Ein Herrscher ehrt nicht den, der strebsam ist, sondern den, der ihm besonders nahe steht Haben doch die Weisen gesagt Die Frau wird nicht von jedem Herrscher und der Weinstock nicht von jedem Baum verherrlicht, sondern nur sofern sie mit ihnen in Berührung kommen

Ar must have represented the original Pahlavi, and the Sanskrit, better than Sy, cf OSp p 51 towards bottom Ca dicen los sabios que el que es de la compañia del rey e de la muger, que non lo allegan a sí por mayor bondat, mas por que está más cercano que otro, bien así como la vid que se non traba al mayor árbol, mas al que más acerca le está.

Comments

In b vidyā- is found in all texts but T and is therefore certainly original asamstutam is proved original by the agreement of N with T and Jn (evidently SP and H have varied independently from the Ur-SP reading) It is instructive to observe the "Verballhornung" of the meaning in Sy, this is however not mainly the fault of the Pahlavi, but rather of the Syriac translator himself, since OSp shows that the Ar was fairly close to the Sanskrit In d bhavati is clearly a *lect fac*, independently made in N and Jn

I vs 21

Occurs in the same place in T I 19, SP I 22, N II 17, Pn I 29, Sy I 13, Ar, and nearly in the same place in Spl I. 36 (immediately after preceding vs)

Reconstruction

kopaprasādavastūni vicinvantah *samīpagāh*
ārohanti śanāir bhrtyā dhunvantam api pārthivam

Variants

a, N °pramāda° b, Spl ye vicinvanti sevakāh SP, N pade-pade for T, Pn samīpagāh c, Spl śanāih paścād. d, T dhūrtam tam for dhunvantam (see my Crit App) SP pārthivadrumam, but SPα api pā° as text

Sy Die den Herrschern nahestehen, stehen ihnen nicht von Anfang an nahe. Es hat eine Zeit gegeben, wo sie sich mit eifrigem Streben heranmachten [After this follows in Sy A 10 and vs 14, found nowhere else except in certain inferior mss of SP, and doubtless not original]

Ar in sense as Sy.

Comments

There is no way of telling whether the reading of T, Pn or that of Ur-SP is original in b. The rest I believe is certain *Cf.* p 109 f

I § 47

T A 16	karatakah damanakah bhadra	atha bhavān kim		tatra vaksyati
Tβ	karataka āha so 'bravīt bhadra	atha bhavān kim		tatra vaksyati
SP 128	karatakah so 'bravīt	atha bhavāns tatra		kim vaksyati
SPα	karataka āha damanaka āha	atha bhavān		kim vaksyati
Hp 56 20	karatako vadati sa āha	atha	tatra gatvā	kim vaksyasi
Hm 16 9	karatako brūte bhavān sa āha	atha	tatra gatvā	kim vaksyati
Spl 13 10	karataka āha vaksyati [**]	atha bhavāns	tatra gatvā	kim tāvad
Pn 9 11	karataka āha	atha bhavāns	tatra gatvā [*]	kim vaksyati [**]

Not in So or Ks

Sy A 11a Klilg sprach Nimm an, es sei dir gelungen, in die Nahe des Lowen zu kommen Wenn du dahin gelangt bist, wie kannst du dann den Lowen uberreden, daß er dich zu sich heranzieht und zum Vertrauten macht?

(A 11b) Dmng sprach

Ar in sense as Sy.

*Here Pn adds prathamam eva. **Jn end tat tāvad ucyatām so 'bravīt (Spl damanaka āha)

Reconstruction

karataka āha atha bhavāns tatra gatvā kim vaksyati *damanaka āha*

Comments

karataka is certain, and āha seems fairly certain from Tβ, SPα, and Jn

atha bhavāns tatra seems certain from T, SP, H, Jn, altho bhavān is omitted in Hp and transposed in Hm, and tatra is transposed in T and omitted in SPα

gatvā seems to me sufficiently assured by the agreement of H (well attested) and Jn Its omission in T, SP is a much easier assumption than its addition independently in H and Jn

kim vaksyati is abundantly supported The insertions in Jn before and after these words are obviously secondary

At the end was either damanaka āha or so 'bravīt, it is impossible to be sure which T's bhadra is unsupported and doubtless secondary.

I vs 22

Occurs in the same place in T I 20, SP I. 23, Spl I. 60, Pn I 46.

Reconstruction

uttarād uttaram vākyam uttarād eva jāyate
suvrstigunasampannād bījād bījam ivā 'param.

Variants

b, Spl vadatām samprajāyate c, SP °samparkād, but SPα text

The text is certain thruout

After this vs T, Pn add api ca, which may be original but of course is not certain

I vs 23

Occurs in the same place in T I 21, SP I 27, N II 18, Hp II 55, Hm II 62, Spl I 61, Pn I 47, Sy A 11 b 3, and vs I 15, Ar

Reconstruction

apāyasamdarśanajām vipattim upāyasamdarśanajām ca siddhim
medhāvino nītividhiprayuktām purah sphurantīm iva darsayanti

Variants

c, T nītividah pra°, °vidhi° with N, H, SP °pada° (α °patha°, v l °vidi°), Jn °guna°, SP °prayuktāh

Sy so, daß es ihm Nutzen bringt und mir keinen Schaden, und (vs 15) so zeige ich ihm klar, daß ein Unternehmen, welches verrichtet werden muß, gut ist, und so hält er auch mich fur gut

Ar closer to the original, see Schulthess note 33

Comments

In c, the reading of Ur-SP seems clearly to have been °vidhi°, which is preserved not only in N and H but in slightly corrupt form °vidi° in a good old ms of SPα It seems much more likely to be correct than T's °vidah, which leaves prayuktām rather in the air, besides being an unnecessary duplication of medhāvino Jn have the obviously secondary °guna° and give us no help All we can do is to print °vidhi° in italics (except the syllable vi, supported by T) as being uncertain, but the most likely guess as to the original

I § 48

T A 17	na cāham aprāptakālam	vakṣyāmi
SPα 142	na cāham aprāptakālam	vaksyāmi (SP ed varies slightly)
Hp 57 15, Hm 17 10	nāham aprāptāvasaram vacanam vaksyāmi (Hm vadisyāmi) yataḥ	
Spl 13 18	na cāham aprāptakālam	vaksye
Pn 7 25*	param aham deśakālavid apr. uktam ca.	

Not in So, Ks, Sy, Ar.

*This passage in Pn occurs not in the same place but somewhat earlier, before our I vs 20 That it corresponds to our passage is proved by the fact that it is immediately followed by the following verse, our I vs 24

Reconstruction

na cā 'ham aprāptakālam vaksyāmi.

Comments seem unnecessary, the entire text is certain.

Original and unoriginal agreements.—I trust that the preceding passage will have demonstrated sufficiently the reality of my goal I do not see how one who has studied it can doubt that it represents fairly accurately a piece of the text of the original Pañcatantra, to which all the versions go back About minor details there may be a possibility for differences of opinion, about the general proposition I can see none —But I do not wish to overstate the case, and therefore I shall immediately add that we occasionally find what seem to be definite agreements between two or more unrelated versions, which nevertheless can not, for one reason or another, be attributed to the original Pañcatantra Usually, as we have already seen by a number of instances in the passage just quoted, these cases concern petty verbal details, such as can without difficulty be assumed to have been altered independently in the same way But at times—tho not often—we find more serious identical variations in different versions, which are nevertheless apparently not connected with each other in any way These compel us to be cautious, even when we seem to find definite *prima facie* proof of the readings of the original To be sure, such cases are not numerous I shall append a few instances here I do not mean to assert that the list is complete; but I think that these cases are typical, and that they will illustrate the kind of reasons which, in my opinion, justify us occasionally in denying to the original even important and striking agreements in independent versions.

Unoriginal agreements between H and Pa.—Reconstruction I vs 35d reads in Muller's edition (not in Peterson's!) of the Hitopadeśa *nūpuram śirasā kṛtam* All the other Sanskrit versions of this stanza have the comparison of "putting a crest-gem on the foot", but only in Hm is added the complementary comparison of "putting a foot-ornament on the head" It seems scarcely questionable that this is a secondary alteration Yet we find it reappearing in the Pahlavi version of this stanza, at the same point in the text! (Sy vs 23   oder den Fußschmuck an den Kopf .) The general relations of the texts make it seem certain that the addition (which is not hard to understand) was made independently in both places It *may* go back to the Sanskrit original of the Pahlavi, but if so, that proves nothing except that this variant of the stanza was known at that early date as a floating stanza or "geflugeltes Wort", and that it persisted in later times and was adopted by the scribe of the H ms to which Muller's edition goes back ultimately

The Pahlavi has at least one verse (Sy I vs 16) which is found in the Hitopadeśa (Hm II 113, Hp II 101) and in no other ancient Pañcatantra version To be sure, it does not occur at the same point of the text in the two versions, and this is in itself a sufficient reason for assuming that it was added independently in H (or its archetype) and the Sanskrit original of Pa

Unoriginal agreement between H and Jn.—Reconstruction I § 155 Here the tricky weaver's wife calls upon the gods to witness to her chastity In the Jain versions (Spl vs 182, Pn vs 141) and the Hitopadeśa (Hp vs 100, Hm vs 112) she recites a stanza, known elsewhere, calling upon the Lokapālas specifically The stanza is one which, granting its familiarity to the several redactors, might very easily have been suggested by the context, and it occurs nowhere else in the Pañc, not even in SP or N, the nearest relatives of H I feel so certain that it is a secondary intrusion that I have not included it in my reconstruction, even in parentheses

Unoriginal agreements between SP and Jn.—I § 172 SP (ed, i e β) and the Jain versions agree in having the barber's wife, who had already lost her nose, further punisht by having her ears cut off But SPα is different, and as the variation is found nowhere else, I think it is surely secondary It is a natural addition

After I vs 71, SP ed (β) has its vs 64, which is found (after a short prose insertion) also in Pn, but nowhere else, and not even in SPα It is similar in meaning to the preceding vs, which is original, and was probably suggested by that, and inserted independently in SPβ and Pn

One might also mention here the apparent agreement between SP, Jn and Pa in the sesame-story (II 2), they all speak of exchanging "huskt for unhuskt" sesame, whereas I believe the original was different See page 106ff above

Unoriginal agreement between Pṇ and Ks—I vs 164 cd This is the catch-verse of the story of the Iron-eating Mice (I 15) The original read (with all versions but Pn and Ks, namely, T, SP, N, Spl, the variants are unimportant, see Crit App) in cd as follows *gajam tatra harec chyeno dārake ko 'tra vismayah* Pn and Ks read *śyenah kuñjarāhṛt tatra kim citram yadi putrahṛt* (Ks *bālahṛt*) The extraordinary correspondence is too close to be accidental, yet the original must have read as indicated by the other versions On the other hand there is no sign of secondary relations between Pn and Ks, except as they both used T, and T here agrees with the other texts The explanation seems to me to be evidently this the stanza was familiar to both Pūrṇabhadra and Ksemendra in the form in which they have it as a floating stanza or "geflugeltes Wort," and so both of them substituted this version for that which they found in their archetypes

Unoriginal agreement between T and SP.—III § 9, &c The names of the crow ministers are, according to T and SP ụddīpin, samdīpin, ādīpin, pradīpin (SP proddīpin), and cirajīvin (SP ciramj°). The Jain versions have ujjīvin, samjīvin, anujīvin, prajīvin, and ciramjīvin (Pn ciraj°) Somadeva has uddīvin, samdīvin, ādīvin, pradīvin, cirajīvin Ks and Pa have no names

The forms found in the Jain versions are evidently secondary, in Jn the first four names are made over on the model of the fifth, using the root *jīv* We may dismiss them We have left only T and SP, which agree practically perfectly, and So, which differs from them Ordinarily we should not hesitate to say that the agreement of T and SP establishes the original But there are special reasons in this case which bid us pause Practically all the names of actors found in the entire Pañcatantra are "nomina-omina", they are somehow or other significant of the character or fortunes of the persons who bear them (Apparent exceptions such as Karataka in Book I may be due to our ignorance of the real meaning of the words) This is very particularly true of the actors in Book III (the crow-king Cloud-color, the owl-king Foe-crusher &c), and notably of the five owl-ministers who form the complement to these five crow-ministers, and who are named Red-eye, Cruel-eye, Flame-eye, Crooked-nose, and Wall-ear (III § 149, &c) The fifth of the crow-ministers, Cira(m)-jīvin, "Long-lived," has a good crow name (crows are proverbially long-lived) It seems to me hardly credible that the other four names should not have been somehow significant

But what do these four names mean according to T and SP? They all appear to be formed with the root *dīp*, and so mean apparently something like "Upflaming, Hither-flaming" &c This seems most inappropriate to crows What possible application could it have, either to crows in general (cf "Long-lived"), or to these crows in particular? If it be suggested that it alludes to the fact that the crows in this story ultimately destroyed the owls' home by burning, the reply is that the crow who was solely responsible for this plan was the fifth crow-minister, whose name in all versions is Cira(m)jīvin—the only name which does *not* contain the root *dīp*! The other four ministers are not even referred to in that connexion Nor can the root *dīp* in these words reasonably be understood in the figurative sense of "illuminating (intellectually)", these four ministers were exactly the opposite of "brilliant" in intellect Their only rôle in the story is to serve as foils to the wise Cira(m)jīvin, after their fruitless maunderings have been overruled by his canny advice, they drop out of the story, to appear no more Certainly the author would not have complimented *them* by giving them names that suggest a connexion with the burning-out of the owls, or that suggest intellectual brilliancy

In view of all this it seems to me highly probable, if not exactly certain, that the true form of their names is preserved in Somadeva alone The forms ud-ḍī-vin &c are compounds of the root *ḍī*, to fly, with various prefixes, and with the suffix *-vin* They mean, then, "Up-soarer" &c These names are entirely appropriate Evidently they were mangled by T and SP—presumably independently, since this is the *only case* of a serious agreement between T and SP that I have discovered, which cannot reasonably be attributed to the original Pañcatantra The comparative rarity and quasi-Prakritic nature of forms of the root *ḍī* would account for the corruption in T and SP, on the principle of the *lectio facilior*

CHAPTER VII

EXAMPLES OF METHOD OF RECONSTRUCTION, CONTINUED ESTABLISHMENT OF ORIGINAL BY AGREEMENTS OF OTHER TEXTS THAN TANTRĀKHYĀYIKA

Purpose of this chapter.—In the passage quoted at length in the preceding chapter (I § 34 &c), most of the versions agree pretty closely with each other. It seems desirable to give examples of passages in which the general agreement is less close, but in which it is nevertheless possible, in my opinion, to determine at least the general sense of the original, on the basis of a smaller number of versions Passages occur in which the original is, I think, determined by a combination of evidence from every two or more independent versions that could possibly be selected, even after making due allowance for the possibility of chance coincidence in secondary variations, as illustrated at the end of the last chapter, I think that this can hardly be doubted as a general proposition, however doubtful some of the individual cases may be

In this chapter I shall quote examples (some two hundred in all) of all these combinations, *except* combinations of evidence from the Tantrākhyāyika and other versions My reason for this omission is two-fold In the first place, agreements between the Tantrākhyāyika and *all* other versions, individually and collectively, are particularly common and particularly easy to locate. Anyone who wishes to do so can easily get plenty of examples The Tantrākhyāyika is, as stated above, *on the whole* the best representative of the original But it is not *the* original, even after its numerous secondary expansions have been deducted from it It contains also omissions and substitutions aplenty And this introduces my second reason for presenting this collection of agreements, which establish the original *in every case without the aid of the Tantrākhyāyika* I collect here more than two hundred cases in which I think Tantrā-

khyāyika is shown by the agreement of other versions to be secondary Not every case is certain, when I myself feel particularly doubtful, I shall say so Perhaps I may exaggerate the certainty of some cases But granted that some of these agreements in other versions than T may be accidental and secondary, it does not seem likely that all of them can be Indeed, in quite a number of cases here listed there are (as will be noted) special reasons for believing that the T version is secondary—aside from the agreement of the others Nor is my list complete, it could without doubt be considerably extended

Collectively, therefore, the following pages constitute an argument—and one of the strongest arguments—*against the exclusive authority of the Tantrākhyāyika* It seems to me worth while to present this collection of unoriginal features of the T, because of the seriously distorted view of the facts which has been given wide publicity by the writings of Professor Hertel This collection is to be understood as a supplement, on the positive side, to my attempt above (p 101 ff) to refute Hertel's assumption of the "archetype K,"—which implies the unique position of T (more especially Tα) among Pañcatantra versions In spite of all his reservations, Hertel still seems unwilling to give due weight to versions outside of the Tantrākhyāyika [1]

[1] For instance, he says *WZKM* 25 4 "Fur die Prosa von K [his imaginary secondary archetype of all the versions except T] konnen wir fast nur auf den Pahlavi-Rezensionen fußen *Sie ist in keinem der Sanskrittexte, die auf K zuruckgehen, auch nur einigermaßen wortlich erhalten* Im SP ist sie stark gekurzt und die Hss gehen ihrerseits stark auseinander, im sog textus simplicior ist sie bis auf geringe Reste umgearbeitet und stark erweitert" Now the sentence which I here italicize is a wild exaggeration, as I think has been sufficiently illustrated by the passage I § 34 ff, quoted above, p 130 ff It is simply false to say that in SP the original text is not "auch nur einigermaßen wortlich erhalten" If the mss of SP differ greatly, that does not mean anything about the original SP archetype, which can usually be determined quite easily by comparing the several SP subrecensions with the outside versions, and it is clear that that archetype preserved the vast majority of both prose and verses of the original, and preserved it on the whole as literally as T, perhaps It is equally false to say that the original text is lost or workt over in Simplicior "bis auf geringe Reste" It is true that Spl preserves the original probably less well

The aim of this chapter is, then, two-fold first, to illustrate the methods of my reconstruction in less, and even in the *least* favorable circumstances (whereas its workings in the *most* favorable circumstances have been illustrated above, p 130 ff), and secondly, to give a large number of instances in which I think there is good reason to believe that the Tantrākhyāyika is secondary

It will be understood, then, that agreements noted in the following pages can be attributed, in my opinion, to the original Pañcatantra, with virtual certainty or at least with a high degree of probability In a few cases only have I more serious doubts, these will be specifically indicated —It will be noted that the agreements vary greatly in importance, from single words up to entire sentences or verses As stated above, I regard the agreements which concern longer passages as much more conclusive evidence for the original than those which concern individual words or phrases, because it is much easier to suppose that the latter are accidental —Considerations of space make it necessary for me to be brief in my treatment of the passages here Full details of the readings of all versions will be found in my Critical Apparatus

Agreements of Ur-SP, Br, Jn, and Pa, against T.—(1) I vss 73 and 74 are found completely in SP, N, Pn In T are found only the first half of 73 and the second half of 74, joined together as one verse Both So and Pa have clear traces of the parts omitted in T

(2) Between II § 50 and § 51 we find in T a block of text which has been transposed from a later place It includes II vs 13, § 54, vs 14, §§ 55 and 56 All other texts (namely SP, N, Jn, So, Pa) join § 51 directly to § 50 and locate the block beginning with II vs 13 at a later place, as in my reconstruction

(3) In I § 518, after Dustabuddhi has accused Dharmabuddhi of stealing the money, the latter denies the theft and returns the accusation, in SP, So, Jn, and Pa (Ar and descendants; not in Sy) T has nothing of this, but T inconsistently proceeds in the next sentence with *evam parasparaśaṅkayā vivadamānāu* etc, implying the original existence of Dharmabuddhi's accusation, which has therefore dropt out in T (per-

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than any other version we have But it nevertheless contains a very considerable amount of it, and at times gives us valuable evidence as to the original, being more original even than T in not a few cases It is *not* "ein ganz neues Werk" (*l c*, same page), the word "ganz" gives an entirely erroneous impression

haps by a kind of haplography, since the words used by Dh seem to have been nearly the same as those used by Du)

(4) III § 41 Here, at the assembly of the birds which was choosing a king, the crow appears and opposes the choice of the owl All versions (SP, So Ks, Jn, Pa) except T state that it was a crow, T has here *avijñātanāmānam pakṣinam*, and we do not learn that the bird was a crow until near the end of the long story, T ed p 124, l 4 (our § 108), where however the fact is mentioned casually in T, in a way which seems to suggest a previous statement

(5) I § 425 The definite statement of the departure of Anāgatavidhātr is found in SP, H, So, Ks, Jn, Pa (not quite in the same place in H and So) T has nothing except the phrase *apayāte 'nāgatavidhātari* in § 426, which of course implies the fact, and might pass as a sufficient statement of it, were it not that the agreement of the other versions indicates that the original was more definite

(6) I § 243 In all versions (SP, H, So, Ks, Jn, Pa) except T the lion's consent to the bargain proposed by the other animals is definitely stated, and in all but Jn (which are expanded) in much the same language In T we find only the words *tathā kṛte* (β *sthite*), which leave this point to be understood by implication

(7) I §§ 443 and 444, describing the approach of the birds to Garuda and their complaint to him about the injury done by the sea to the strandbirds The general sense seems supported by Hm, So, Spl, Pn, Sy and Ar (a brief illusion also in Ks) While the texts are not close to each other in most of the language contained here, it seems to me that the correspondence of meaning is close enuf to make it at least highly probable that the original had something of the sort, tho it is entirely omitted in T, SP, and Hp (Hm alone retaining—but with some traces of the language of the others!—the original which apparently must have been in Ur-SP)

(8) I § 366, end The lion, speaking of the assurances he had given to the camel, says—in Jn, *tat katham* (Pn adds *svayam eva*) *vyāpādayāmi*, in SP, *tat katham druhyate* (α here inferior), in So, *katham hanmīty*, in Sy (after the following verse, that is, slightly transposed), Ich habe es eingeladen und werde es nicht dem Tode uberantworten —Nothing like this in T

(9) I § 434 In Pa, Spl, Pn, So, and Hm (cf No 7 above, in which Hm also has a feature in common with the other versions, which is not in Hp or SP), occurs the equivalent in sense of the word *śrutapūrvatadālāpena* (the sea, "having heard what the strandbird said," &c) It is lacking in T, SP, and Hp, tho of course implied in them by the story

(10) I § 590. After killing Samjīvaka, the lion sits *atiśokārtah samnihsvasya* (SP), cf. H *viśrāntah saśoka*, Ks *anutāpārtah*, Spl *tadgunasmaranārdrahrdayah*, Pn *praśāntakopo—smrtapūrvasnehavaśāt karunayā bāṣpārdre nayane pramrjya sapaścāttāpam*, Sy Aber kaum hatte er sich von seinem Zorne erholt, da machte er sich Skrupeln,—Und er empfand

Reue und saß trüben Sinnes da. Similarly Ar.—Of this description T has nothing, except as it may be considered implied in the speech of the lion which follows, or in the words *asrgdigdham pānim pramrjya*.

(11) III § 48. The appeal of the thirsty elephants to their king is practically omitted in T, which reads only *paritrāyāsmān vāritaipaneneti*, note particularly that it has no correspondent to the idea exprest by H *mrtāihā iva,* Ks *vinaṣṭā eva,* Spl *mrtaprāya,* Pn *mrtāvasthāh,* Sy daß wir nicht vor Durst sterben, Ar JCap in hoc vivere non possumus (the same sense also in SP). By way of compensation T inserts a reply by the elephant-king to his followers, which is found in no other version and is doubtless secondary.

(12) III § 257. By way of indicating that the crows burned the home of the owls, T has simply *asāu cirajīvī yat krtavān, tad bhavatām anākhyātam viditam eva.* All others (SP, So, Ks, Jn, Pa) have the definite statement of the burning.

(13) III § 182 is omitted in T, which fails to give the thief's reason for objecting to the ogre's seizing the brahman first, before he had stolen the cattle. This reason is given in substantially identical terms in SP, So, Pn, and Pa. In So and Pa, to be sure, it is put with § 180, where the thief first states his intention. This simply means that So and Pa have combined § 180 and § 182—a very natural procedure, the like of which happens constantly, and which need imply no interdependence. T, on the other hand, has omitted § 182 by a kind of haplology (since it contained a speech by the thief which was in part very similar to the one found in § 180). SP and Pn have preserved the original very accurately.

(14) II § 78 end. The phrase *mamāpīha nirvedo 'sti* or close equivalent is found in SP, (H, less close,) So, Spl, Pn, and Pa, but omitted in T, altho in the crow's reply, immediately following, T reads *kim bhavato 'pi* nirveda*kāranam*.

(15) II §§ 121—123, see below, p. 177.

(16) II § 198. SP, Spl, Pn, So, Ks, and Pa contain the statement that the crow informed the others of the deer's misfortune. T briefly, *tāval laghupatanakena kṣipram eva hiranya ānītah* (the last corresponds to § 200).

(17) II § 229. T mentions only the mouse as escaping. All the others (SP, Jn, So, Ks, Pa) speak of all three, Jn and Pa making specific mention of mouse, crow, and deer, which is clearly original. This is a case in which T is most obviously secondary, of course all the companions but the tortoise must have escaped.

(18) I § 290. Of the louse that lived in the bed of a king, the original says (according to my reconstruction), *sā ca tasya mahīpate raktam āsvādayantī sukhena ciram kālam nayamānā tiṣṭhati.* So Spl, except that it omits *ciram.* Pn has a passage similar in sense tho verbally different, Sy also "die biß den Mann, wenn er schlief, behutsam, daß er es nicht merkte, und wohnte da lange Zeit, ohne daß jemand sie fing", so also Ar. More briefly So, *ciram āsīd alakṣitā.* SP contains the word *bahukālam* (*a cira k°*) in the preceding passage. T has nothing of all this.

(19) III § 6 In speaking of the owls' attack on the crows SP and Spl *rātrāv āgatya*, So *rātrāv etya*, Ks *niśi*, Sy nachtlicherweile, Ar one night T and Pn omit the phrase

(20) V § 39 end SP, H, So, Ks, Jn, and Pa all agree in having a phrase to this effect *(kṛṣna)sarpam ca (samīpe) khandīkṛtam dṛṣṭvā* Only T lacks anything of the sort

(21) I § 211 The heron takes the fish which he intends to eat, and—SP *śilāpṛṣṭhe pātayitvā* So *śilātale vinyasya*, Spl *nātidūre śilām samāsādya tasyām ākṣipya*, Pn *śilātalasyāikadeśoparı*, Sy auf einem nahen Hugel Nothing of the sort in T or H But that the original must have had it is indicated (aside from the agreement of the others) also by T's version of § 215, where the heron, carrying the crab, *taptaśilāyām avatīrnah*

(22) I § 562 SP *kṣīnavibhavo vanikputrah*, Jn *jīrnadhano* (Pn *nāduko*) *nāma vanikputrah*, So *tulāśeṣah pitryāt thāt vaniksutah*, Sy ein armer Kaufmann, but T *kṣīnabāndhavo* (mistake for °*vibhavo*!) *vaniksutah*

(23) I § 525 When Dustabuddhi says that the tree will bear witness for him, the judges express astonishment, and then add, in all versions (SP, So, Ks, Jn, Pa) except T, that they will take the tree's testimony on the next day T entirely omits this last

(24) I § 242 The beasts, making their offer to the lion, promise him one victim "each day for your food" The two words *pratyaham* and *āhārārtham* are found literatim in SP, H, and Pn, Spl has *pratidinam*, *bhakṣārtham*, So *dine-dine*, *āhārāya*, Ks less exactly, *sadā*, and *kṣayam* or *kṣaye*, Sy jeden Tag (omitting the other word, but cf Ar), Ar JCap omni die, pro tuo cibo It seems clear that both of these words (or very close equivalents) were in the original T has neither.

(25) I § 239 The beasts who are being destroyed by the lion "come together" and address him The word *militvā* is found literatim in SP, H, and both Jn versions, So has *sambhūya*, Ks *sametya*, Sy nothing, but Ar seems to point to an equivalent (JCap habito consilio inter se) Only T, therefore, omits the word

(26 and 27) I §§ 90 and 91 Damanaka asks permission of Piñgalaka to go and investigate the strange noise The lion grants him permission specifically in Jn, So, Pa (Ar, Sy has lacuna here), not in SP ed, but one α ms has *bhadra sukhena gaccha* Nothing in T The text reads much more smoothly with some such phrase included, tho it is not absolutely necessary to the sense —The same applies to § 91, containing the definite statement that D took leave of P and went, so Jn, So, Ks, Pa, not in T, represented in SP by the single word *gatvā*

Agreements of Ur-SP, Jn, and Pa.—(1) I § 98 (in which Damanaka returns to Piñgalaka after investigating the noise made by the bull) contains in Jn the words *damanako 'pi piñgalakasakāśam āgatya* (Spl *gatvā*) *pranamyopaviṣṭah* The originality of this seems supported by SP [*damanaka*] *āgatya piñgalakam pranamyopaviṣṭah*, cf. H *pranamyopaviṣṭāu* (both Karataka and Damanaka come in H), and Ar Als Dmng vor den Lowen trat (lacuna in Sy). T omits all this.

(2) I § 99, immediately after the preceding SP, H, Jn, and Pa agree in making Piṅgalaka open the conversation by asking Damanaka whether he has seen the creature who made the noise (or, in Ar, 'Was hast du ausgerichtet?") This is dramatically better than T, which omits any such question and lets Damanaka open the conversation The verbal agreement between SP, H, and Jn is very close (Jn *kim dr̥ṣṭam bhavatā tat sattvam*, SP *dr̥ṣṭam kim tvayā*, H *tvayā sa dr̥ṣṭaḥ*, or *dr̥ṣṭaḥ saḥ*, omitting *tvayā*) To be sure, SPα omits the phrase, as does T, but then, SPα also omits Damanaka's reply, which is found in T and is clearly original In short, SPα is in this place obviously secondary, and SPβ more original.

(3) I § 142 See below, p 178 Note that T makes no mention of the weaver's beating his wife, which all other versions have (SP, H, Jn, Pa, the whole story is omitted in Br), and which no good husband would have failed to do under the circumstances T is badly confused at this point

(4) I § 207 The lying tale of the crafty heron, told to the crab, is repeated by him to the fishes, according to SP, Spl, Sy, and Ar In the others we must assume that the fishes overheard it, which is quite possible *a priori*, but the agreement is probably original

(5) I § 224 In T the jackal advises the crows to get a *suvarṇasūtram* simply, not specifying an owner The others are fuller SP *kasyacid dhanikasya (gr̥hāt)*, SPα *rājamahiṣyas*, Jn *kasyāpi dhanino* (Spl adds *rājāmātyādeh pramādinaḥ*), H more lengthy, the *kanakasūtra* is to be taken from a *rājaputra*, Sy simply Leuten (einen Gegenstand zu entführen) but Ar Wolff von dem Schmuck eines Weibes, and so JCap, KF The versions of SPα, H, and Ar seem to be due to anticipations of § 228 The original doubtless said simply "from a rich man," tho it may possibly have added something like "a king or the like"

(6) I § 306 The servants of the king who has been bitten by the flea "bring a light" to look for it in SP *(dīpikām ādāya)*, Pn *(dīpikām gr̥hītvā)*, and Ar (JCap candela accensa) This seems likely to be original

(7) I § 316, see p 167 below

(8) I § 375 In T (and Br) the speech of the crow is reduced to the bare offer of his body to the lion In SP and H he first says "We have not been able to find food, and Your Majesty is weakened by long fasting" This is dramatically a better opening, and is supported by Jn and Pa (Pa lacks the equivalent of *āhāro na prāptaḥ*)

(9) I § 454 Damanaka's description of how the lion will behave when he sees Saṃjīvaka contains *tvatsammukham īkṣamānas*, or words to that effect, in H, Jn, and Pa, not in T or SP

(10) I § 506 Duṣṭabuddhi is proposing that the treasure trove be not divided at once, but that each should take only a part of it for the present. In T he does not say what is to be done with the rest So and Ks are too much abbreviated to show anything, but SP has *ihaiva vr̥kṣamūle* (α omits *vr°*) *nikṣipya*, Spl *atraiva vanagahane kvāpi bhūmau nikṣipya* Pn (otherwise mainly with T) *bhūmau nikṣipya*, and Ar (Sy has

a lacuna here) we will bury the rest in a safe place Since this is just what they proceed to do, it is *a priori* probable that Dustabuddhi suggested it, as represented in the non-T versions

(11) I § 507 Just after the preceding No reply is quoted from Dharmabuddhi to Dustabuddhi's proposal in T, Bi SP has *tenoktam yathāha bhavān* Similarly Jn Ar Said the thotless man Agreed (Lacuna in Sy)

(12) I § 529 Dustabuddhi has just told his father that it is "up to him" to save the money SP continues *pitāha, kim atra kāryam* So Sy Sein Vater sprach zu ihm, Und ich, was soll ich tun? Ar similarly So also Spl, more fully No reply of the father is mentioned in T, Pn, Bi

(13) I § 541 The crab, after advising the herons to strew fish from the mongoose's hole to the snake's, explains here that the mongoose will come out and eat the fish and so come to the snake's hole and kill it So, in quite similar terms, H, Jn, and Pa SP omits all, and T has very briefly *tatas ta evāinamāghātayiṣyanti*

(14) II § 4 end Here occurs a clause which seems to be found correspondingly in H, Jn, and Pa, but the correspondence is far from perfect and the originality of the clause is therefore uncertain See Crit App

(15) II vs 15 c SP, N, H, Jn, Pa *sutaptam*, T *ataptam* See p 105 f

(16) II § 149 The original may not have been so long as in my reconstruction (which follows Jn), but SP, H, and Pa prove clearly that something of the sort was here See Crit App T is very confused in its arrangement of the entire passage in which this occurs

(17) II vs 43 b SP, N, H, Pn *varam klāibyam punsām na ca parakalatrābhigamanam* T *mṛtyuh ślāghyo* for *klāibyam puṅsām* Pa with the non-T versions (Sy besser ein Kastrat als ein Ehebrecher) This is obviously the proper reading, even Hertel can hardly deny, I should think, that T is here secondary

(18) II vs 48 is found in SP, N, H, Spl, Pn and Pa (Ar), but not in T

(19) Order of II vss 70—72 and § 174 These three verses and one prose section contain all that is original of more than two pages of T's text (from A 177 to A 182, including vss 126—142 of T) In T this long passage comes after the speech of the crow (our § 176, and vss 73—77) T thus divides the speech of the tortoise in two, separating the two parts of it by the speech of the crow This is superficially indicated in T itself by the obvious way in which T A 182 duplicates A 176, the tortoise has to conclude his speech twice, and does it with almost the same words It seems evident to me that the other versions are original in putting these vss and this § with the rest of the speech of the tortoise Hertel's statements of correspondences in his Table (Tantr Einl p 100 ff) are erroneous for this passage

(20) II § 175 T *hiranyo*, for *laghupatanako* of SP, H, Jn, and Pa—which latter is required by the sense Hertel assumes a lacuna, in which the mouse said something or other, and then the crow's speech was introduced But this is most unlikely No other version represents

the mouse as saying anything T has simply made a careless slip, saying the mouse when it means (or should mean) the crow Other cases of the sort occur elsewhere (e g in our II § 190 H says *hiranyako* by mistake for *mantharako*, and in our II § 224 Pa says the deer by mistake for the mouse)

(21—24) II vss 75, 77, 88, and 89 These four verses are found in SP, N, H, Pn, and Pa, but not in T

(25) III § 64 Here, where the hare first speaks to the elephant-king, he would naturally declare at once that he is sent by the moon as a messenger He does so in all the versions (SP, H, Jn, So, Ks, Pa) except T, where he says he is a messenger, but does not say by whom he is sent until later (§ 65) —So and Ks run together §§ 64 and 65, so that they cannot be counted as evidence *against* T's version

(26) III vs 44 and preceding prose See above, p 111 ff

(27) III § 226 The ascetic says to his wife, of the girl who has been changed from a mouse Pn, *iyam tava duhitotpannā*, SP *tām svagarbhajātām iva*, Sy wie deine Tochter, und liebe es wie ein eigenes, so Ar T contains no such suggestion or comparison, altho in the sequel the ascetic speaks of her as being in place of a daughter to him

(28) III vs 80, see below, p 167

(29) III vs 86 a SP, N, Pn *bhrtyah*, T *mitrah*, Pa supports *bhrtyah* (Sy ein Diener und Beisaß)

(30) III vs 91 b SP N, Pn *dharmah*, T *bhrtyāh* Pa (Ar, not in Sy) seems to support *dharmah* (JCap [mala] doctrina, OSp el [mal] enseñado)

(31) III vs 99 See above, p 85 f

(32) V § 26 The statement that the contents of the broken pot covered the brahman himself is clearly needed, as is proved by the catch-verse, V vs 2, c, *pānduraah sete* Nevertheless T omits it, or at least hardly makes it plain by its *tasyāivopari satakapālo vyāviddhasaktur nipatitah* Contrast SP *saktudhūlīdhūsaritatanuh*, Jn *saktubhih* (Pn adds *ca*) *pāndaratām gatah*, Sy und der Honig und das Ol ergoß sich auf seinen Kopf &c It seems clear, at least, that the other versions are more closely in accord with the catch-verse than T

Agreements of Ur-SP, Jn, and So or Ks.—(1) I § 253 After the lion has askt the hare to show him the alleged second lion, the hare replies, in SP *sa āha, tvaritam āgaccha svāmin* (α °*chatu svāmī*) *tam darśayāmīti* Likewise Jn *śaśaka āha, yady evam tarhy* (Pn *tad*) *āgacchatu svāmī* Also So *āgatya drśyatām devety uktvā* Not in T, Pa, H, Ks

(2) I § 352 end The lion's retainers start out to look for food, at his request Before § 353, in which the crow, jackal, and panther take counsel together without the camel, occurs in SP, Jn, and So the following SP *na kimcit prāptam*, Jn *yāvan na kimcit sattvam* (Pn *ti, sattvam kimcin na*) *paśyanti*, So *(a)narāpya tat* In the other versions, including T, this is not stated

(3) I § 391. The female strandbird is described as *āsannaprasavā*, literatim, in SP, H, Ks, Spl, and (*praty-ās*°) Pn T has the synonym *prasosyamānayā*, So *dhrtagarbhā* Here T is secondary in exact language

(guaranteed by agreement of SP, H, Jn and Ks), tho it has a word of the same meaning

(4) I § 491 The ape is "angered" by the officious bird, *kupit(en)a,* SP, Spl, cf So *cukopa,* Ks *bhartsayan* Not in T, Pn, Pa

(5) III § 5 The original name of the owl king was clearly *Arimardana,* "Foe-crusher," so SP, Jn, Ks has the synonym *ripumarda*, So *avamarda*, T *apamarda,* but the mss readings, see Hertel *ad loc*, ed p 108, n to l 7, seem to me to point to an original *satrumarda* (Tα *satrumardanāma*, Tβ [*tasya ca*] *satrur apamardo nāma* &c), which like Ks's form would be a synonym of *arimarda(na)*

(6) III §§ 98 and 100 The name of the hypocritical cat was clearly *Dadhikarna* in the original, as shown by SPα, Pn, and Ks, which agree on this form It means "Curd-ear" and is otherwise known as a cat's name SP ed (β) has secondarily *dīrghavāla,* "Long-tail," Spl *tīkṣnadanṣtra,* an ominous name suggested by what this cat did to the partridge and hare, T *udadhikarna,* "Ocean-ear," which of course makes no sense and is an evident corruption for *dadhikarna*

(7) III §§ 165 and 166, order These two sections are put after Story 6 in SP, Pn, Br, they evidently belong there Pa omits them In T (β, α omits Story 6) they are put before Story 6 This is responsible for the awkwardness which Hertel finds in the introduction to this story, and which leads him to the erroneous conclusion that the story itself is a secondary insertion See p 63, note 6

Agreements of Ur-SP, Pa, and So or Ks, against T (and Jn).— (1) I §§ 18—22 and vss 4, 5, order See above, p 80 ff The order of T, followed by Pn and apparently by Spl so far as it preserves the passage, is clearly secondary

(2) I § 20 See p 84

(3) I § 30 See p 84 f

(4) I § 103 In the preceding section Damanaka has offered to bring Samjīvaka into the lion's presence The lion now replies, in SP, So, and Pa, telling him to do so In T, Pn this speech is omitted, leaving a gap in the story, which Spl undertook to fill in by an obviously secondary speech of the lion, its contents are quite different from the others Evidently the Ur-T left out the lion's speech

(5) I § 254 The hare shows the lion the well, where the other lion was alleged to be, and says SP *tatra paśya*, H *atrāgatya* (Hm *tatrā°*) *paśyatu svāmī*, So *ihāntas tam* (DP *ihāntahstham*) *sthitam paśya*; Sy Hier ist er —In T, Ks we are not told that the hare said anything

(6) I § 311? (Doubtful case as far as SP is concerned, see p 174)

(7) I § 507 Dustabuddhi and Dharmabuddhi bury the dinars which the latter has found *vṛkṣamūle,* SP, So, an der Wurzel eines Baumes, Sy (and Ar likewise) T only *kutracit*, Pn, Ks only *bhūmāu* (So also has *bhūtale*), but in the sequel we find that they really were at the foot of a tree

(8) I § 554 That the money was given back to Dharmabuddhi, after the true facts of the case had been discovered, is stated only in SP, So, and Pa, not in T, Jn, Ks

(9) III § 26 In the long speech of the wise crow-minister Cira(n)-jīvin to the crow-king occurs a phrase which seems to me quite clearly to correspond in SP, So, and Pa, and for which I find no equivalent in T (tho the order of most of the versions is pretty badly confused at this point and it is not easy to be absolutely sure about correspondences) SP reads *tad evam punar bravīmi yuddham na śreya iti, saṃdhir apy aśakyo 'rthaḥ sahajavairānubandhānām* So *kaḥ saṃdhir dūta eva kaḥ, āsīt sti vairaṃ kākānām ulūkais tatra ko vrajet* Pa, Sy Und nun, wo du mein Gutachten gefordert hast, ist es, um es offentlich zu sagen, dieses Wie ich nicht den Krieg wunsche, ebensowenig wunsche ich, daß wir die Zahlung eines Tributes auf uns nehmen und uns demutigen (Ar similarly) —The Jn versions of course could not have this passage, since they have wholly altered the first part of Book III, and in the greatly abbreviated Ks we should not expect to find it Of the versions where it would be reasonable to expect this passage, therefore, it is lacking only in T

(10) III § 54 See p 86 f

(11) III §§ 71 and 72 See p 87

(12) III § 122 The rogues, seeing the brahman carrying the goat, say to themselves, according to SP *(tais cintitam), brāhmaṇo 'yam chāgaṃ tyājyatām* Cf So *dhūrtais chāgaṃ jihīrṣubhiḥ*, Ar, JCap—consilium ut ipsum sibi aufferent Nothing is said about their proposing to *eat* the goat except in T and Jn To be sure, they naturally *did* eat the goat when they got it, so it is possible that the original definitely mentioned this as their purpose But I think the agreement of the non-T versions is an indication that the contrary is more likely

(13) V § 41 The wife of the hasty brahman comes home and finds him, and—as SP says—*vyāpāditaṃ nakulaṃ śatadhā khaṇḍīkṛtaṃ* (so α) *sarpaṃ ca dṛṣṭvā*—asks him for an explanation (SP *kim idam iti*, T similarly) In So and Pa the reference to the dead mongoose and snake (only the mongoose, So) is put into the speech of the wife (So, *nakulaḥ kim hatas tvayā, iti*, Sy, und was bedeutet das, daß das Wiesel und die Schlange getotet sind?—likewise Ar) This may have been the way the original read. At any rate SP, So, and Pa seem to indicate that the original had some reference to the snake and the mongoose, or at least to the mongoose, T has none. The Jn versions are quite independent of the others at this point

Agreements of Pa, Jn, and So or Ks.—(1) I § 16 Pn *śanaiḥ-śanair*, So *śanaiḥ*, not in other Skt versions, but Sy gemachlich, JCap paulisper, KF little by little

(2) I § 116 end After the lion's speech of welcome, Saṃjīvaka replies in Pn *yathā deva ājñāpayati* So has *tatheti*, and Sy says Snzbug dankte ihm The other versions do not represent Saṃjīvaka as saying anything But this might not impossibly be an independent addition in the three versions

(3) I § 196 end The jackal, speaking to the two crows whose young have been eaten by the serpent, says in Spl *nātra viṣaye viṣādaḥ kāryaḥ*,

nūnam sa lubdho nopāyam antarena vadhyah syāt Pn similarly Ks *samāsrasihi sarpo 'yam vinaksyati* Sy suche vielmehr Mittel und Wege (=*upāya*), die Schlange zu toten, ohne dich selbst zugrunde zu richten

(4) I § 256 Jn, So, and Ar say that after compassing the lion's death the hare returned and told the story to the other animals This is omitted in the other versions, even in Sy, they end with the lion's death

(5) I § 373 In Jn, So, and Pa the crow, speaking to his fellow-conspirators, develops his plan for compassing the camel's death in similar terms It is omitted altogether in SP and merely hinted at in T Pa and So are particularly close to each other, and the original may have been more like Pa than like Jn, which I have perforce adopted in the reconstruction, since it is the only prose Sanskrit version available

(6) I § 432 This section, in which the male strandbird reassures his consort after she has expiest her fears in the form of two stories, is found only in Pn, So, and Pa, its originality is not certain but seems to me highly probable

(7) I § 436 The female strandbird alludes to the fact that she had predicted the disaster, in So *yan mayoktam abhūt tava*, Spl *kathitam āsīn mayā te*, Pn *uktas tvam asakrn mayā*, Sy Habe ich es doch kommen sehen und bei Zeiten zu dir gesagt, Ar similarly No such phrase in T, SP, H

(8) I § 513 Dustabuddhi motivates his desire for money by saying, So *asti me vyayah*, Spl *bahukutumbā vayam vittābhāvāt sīdāmah*, Sy Ich brauche bares Geld zum Verausgaben, Ar similarly Others omit this

(9) II § 103 The ascetic tells his guest that he was making a noise only to scare away the mouse (of which he has spoken in the preceding section), so distinctly Jn, So, Ks, and in Pa mingled with the preceding, in T, SP, H only implied

(10) II § 199 Only Spl, Ks, and Pa specifically mention the fact that the crow calls upon the mouse to free the deer Of course this is implied in the others, and the definite statement may be an independent expansion in the three versions

(11) III § 101 Neither T nor SP quotes any words as spoken by the hare and the partridge to the cat in asking him to be their judge Jn represent them as saying *bhos tapasvin dharmadeśaka, āvayor vivādo vartate, tad dharmaśāstradvārenāsmākam* (Pn °*śāstrenāvayor*) *nirnayam dehi* So *śrnu nāu bhagavan nyāyam* (Brockhaus *nyāyyam*) *tapasvī tvam hi dhārmikah* Sy Wir haben einen Rechtshandel miteinander, darum bitten wir, sei unser Richter Ar undoubtedly agreed with Sy originally, some versions, evidently secondarily, have no direct quotation

(12) III § 186 The thief and the ogre fall to quarreling about which shall attack the brahman first Then, Pn *evam śrutvotthāya brāhmanah sāvadhāno bhūtvestadevatāmantradhyānenātmānam rakṣasād udgūrnalagudena ca cāurād goyugam raraksa* So *utthāyāttakrpāne ca tasmin raksoghnajāpini, brāhmane* Ks *vipras tayor idam śrutvā balamantrāir jaghāna tāu.* Sy Und der Asket erwachte samt seinen Hausgenossen aus dem Schlafe und sie standen auf T does not attribute any action to the brahman at all, in SP we find what are apparently various secondary attempts to fill the gap, quite different in the different mss, and none resembling

the original as determined by Jn and Br (very close to each other), and partly also by Pa

(13) III § 196 end The carpenter, after telling his wife that he is called away on business, adds in Jn *tatra dināni katicil lagisyanti tat tvayā kimcit pātheyam mama yogyam vidheyam* (Spl *kāryam*) So *tat tvayā mama saktvādi pātheyam diyatām iti* Sy darum richte mir den Proviant (*pātheyam*, identical word in So and Jn) her fur so und so viel Tage (*dināni katicil*), daß ich ihn mit mir fuhre Nothing of this in T, SP

Agreements of Ur-SP and both Jn versions, against T.—(1) KM vs 3 This is found in SP, N, H, Spl, and Pn, but not in T

(2) I vs 6 In c, SP best ms reads *eva*, with Jn (but SP ed with N and H *bhūmāu*, so that it is probably more likely that Ur-SP read *bhūmāu*), T has *naro* —In d, SP N, H, Spl and Pn *vānarah*, T *markatah*

(3) I vs 8 Found in SP, N, H, Jn, not in T

(4) I § 40 SP, Jn *bhīto bhītaparitrāras ca*, T *bhīrus ca bhīrupariivāras* (β °*pari*°) *ca* (same sense, but unoriginal language)

(5) I vs 21 SP, N, Jn *dhunvantam*, T *dhūrtam tam*, see p 109

(6) I § 49 SP, Jn *durārādhyā hi* (SP ed omits *hi*, but α has it) *narapatayah* (Jn *rājānah*, SP ed *nrpāh*), T *durārohās ca* (β *hi*) *narapatayah*, So *durāsadās ca īsvarāh*, Sy es ist schwer, einem Herrscher zu dienen

(7) I vs 40 Found only in H and Jn, not quite at the same place, of doubtful originality, since it might easily have been suggested by the context and inserted independently in H and Ur-Spl

(8) I § 62 SP, H, Jn *avajñā*, T *anādarah* (synonym).

(9) I vs 53 In d, T has *vikrayām*, for SP, H, Jn *vikramam*, which seems better Pa (Sy bekriegt = *karoti vikramam*?) seems rather to support the non-T version, but is perhaps not decisive

(10) I § 309 SP, H *simhah* (SPα *pingalaka āha* H *rājāha*) *katham asāu jñātavyo drohabuddhir iti* Pn *pingalaka āha katham jñeyo 'sāu mayā duṣṭabuddhir iti, kas cāsya yuddhamārgah iti* Spl *pingalaka āha bho damanaka, kah pratyayo 'tra viṣaye yatah sa mamopari duṣṭabuddhih* —Not in Br, Pa T only *pingalaka āha bhadra kas tasya yuddhamārga iti*

(11) I vs 98 ab SP, N, H, Jn, T *bhāvasnigdhāir* (for *bhāva*, SP *citram*, SPα *prājñāih*, N, H *vijñāih*, T *snigdhāir eva*) *upakrtam api* (T *hy upakrtiganāir*) *dveṣyatām eti* (Spl *yāti*) *kimcic* (T *kascic*), *chāthyād* (SP, N, H *sāksād*) *anyāir apakrtam api* (T *apakrtisatāih*) *prītim evopayāti* (Spl varies). Ur-SP and Jn agree in the main against T

(12) I vs 140 b SP, Pn *pathā na yānti ye*, N *vacanam na yānti yo* (read *ye*), Spl *na yānti ye pathā*, T *na yānti vartmanā*

(13) I vs 164 b SP, N, Jn *yatra khādanti mūṣakāh* (Spl °*ikāh*), T *khādate yatra mūsakah*

(14) II § 57 SP, H *hiranyakah* (SPα adds *āha*, H *kim cānyat* for *hi*°) *satrupakṣo bhavān asmākam uktam ca* (H *cāitat*) Jn *hiranya(ka) āha bhos tvayā vāyasena saha katham* (Pn *katham* before *tvayā*) *māitrīm karomi uktam ca* —Not in the others

(15) II § 172 SP *tad bhadra krte 'py arthe samtāpo na karanīyah* H *iti matvā samtāpo 'rthanāso 'yam* (?) *tvayā na kartavyah* Jn *tad bhadra*

hiranya(ka) evam jñātvā dhanavisaye (Pn adds *tvayā*) *saṃtāpo* (Pn *-saṃtoṣo*) *na kāryah, uktam ca*—Not in others, T is here very much confused The verbal correspondence is too close to be accidental, in my opinion

(16) II § 173 Like the preceding, found only in SP and Jn (this time not in H), and corresponding only in general sense, not in exact language, but pretty surely original, in my opinion See Crit App

(17) III vs 1a SP, N, Jn *pūrvavirodhitasya* (N °*teṣu*), T *pūrvaparāgi-tasya*

(18) III vs 65c SP, Jn *priyakāraka bhadram te* (N *tvatprasādāt tato bhadra*), T (only in β) *priyas cāris ca* (v l *priyah cāuro 'pi*) *bhadra tvam* (v l *tvam bhadra*)

(19) III vs 80b SP, N, Spl *vajrapātavisame*, Pn *vākyavajravisame*, T *vakravākyampune* Sy probably reflects the word *vajra* with "ein Wort das schlimmer war als eine Pfeilspitze"

(20) V vs 3a SP, N, Jn *kuparijñātam* (SP ed °*nam*, v l °*tam*), T *ku-matijñātam*

(21) II vs 72a T, Jn *dānena tulyo nidhir* (T *vidhir*) *asti nānyah*, SP, N *na danatulyo nidhir asti kaścit nidhi* is intrinsically better than *vidhi*, "there is no treasure-store like generosity", that is, giving away money is the best kind of hoarding One T ms corrects to *nidhir*

Agreements of Ur-SP and Spl, against T (and Pn).—(1) KM vs 1 Not in Kielhorn-Buhler's edition, but in mss of Spl according to Hertel In c Hertel says that Spl has *viduṣe* with SP, N, against T *mahate*

(2) KM vs 4 Found in SP, N, Spl only

(3) I § 316 Damanaka, speaking to Saṃjīvaka, says in SPα and H *yady api rājaviśvāso na kathanīyah, tathāpi* Spl *mitra, svāminām sacivānām mantrabhedam kartum na yujyate* (verses inserted) *tathāpi* Nothing of this in T, Pn, it is very possibly represented in Pa by Sy Es ist etwas, was man nicht offentlich sagen darf Ich habe es nicht gesagt, weil ich nicht meinen eigenen Schaden suchen wollte (This seems not to be found in Ar)

(4) I §§ 336, 339, 342 &c, 381 The name of the camel in Story 8 is given in SP and Spl consistently as *Kathanaka* In T it is usually *Krathanaka*, but one ms., p, reads *kathanaka* in § 381 In Pn it is regularly *vikata*, in H variously *citrakarna*, °*varna*, or *chidrakarna*, Pn and H are obviously secondary. Besides the variant of ms p in § 381, I find other evidence that T goes back to a reading *kathanaka* In § 339 T reads *vāyaso 'bravīt ākhyātanāmoṣṭro 'yam iti* Hertel renders Das ist ein Kamel, es hat mir [diesen] seinen Namen genannt But it seems to me that the words can hardly mean this They seem to mean, taken naturally 'This is a camel named Ākhyāta" I think *ākhyāta* can only be an equivalent, or a blundering substitute, for the original *kathanaka* Both are understood as meaning something like "Fabulous", the camel is distinctly said to be an unheard-of and "ridiculous" beast to the lion and his retainers Pn's version of § 339 is based on T, and is an attempt to rationalize it *uṣṭro 'yam loke prakhyātanāmā*, "this is a camel, his name is well-known in the world"—Note further T's text § 352, where the name *krathanaka* is first mentioned

evam uktvā (β °*tās*) *te 'py utthāya krathanakena saha vanāntaram pravistāh* As if the camel's name were already known! (Hertel feels constrained to put in a footnote in his translation "Dies ist also der Name des Kamels", he evidently recognizes the harshness, without being quite willing to admit it openly) But T has not previously mentioned the camel's name—unless my interpretation of § 339 is correct In any case T's version is inconsistent with itself Either (as I think) it uses a corrupt form of the name in § 339, or (as Hertel thinks) it mentions no name before § 352 but there speaks as if the name had been previously mentioned —The name *krathanaka* is meaningless, in any case, and can hardly have been the original form It seems to me very clear that the original had *kathanaka* with SP and Spl

(5) I vs 174d T, Pn *krtyam* (metrically inferior) for SP, N, H, Spl *krtam*

Agreements of Ur-SP and Pn, against T (and Spl).—(1) I § 4 SP, Pn *sārthavāhah prativasati sma*, T, Spl *śreṣṭhiputro* (Spl *vanikputro*) *babhūva* Cf p 88 above

(2) I vs 5 Found in SP, N, H, Pn, not in T, Spl, perhaps reflected in So and Pa See p 81 above

(3) I vs 15 Found in SP (ed) and Pn at the same place, but nowhere else (not in N, H, and not even in SPα), very likely a secondary insertion, since it is a verse that might easily have been suggested by the preceding one.

(4) I § 214 The heron refers to the crab's flesh as *apūrva* in SP, H, Pn only (In Pa the entire section is omitted, it is greatly reduced in Br)

(5) I § 267 SP, H, Pn *svecchayā* (H *svecchātah*) *pravartate*, T *icchati pravartitum* Others failing

(6) I vs 82 ab SP, N, H, Pn *tat karma yan nirmalam* (T *yat kāuśalam*), SP, N, H, Pn *sa matimān* (T *sa ca pumān*) *yah sadbhir abhyarcyate* The verse occurs also in Pa The first phrase seems not to be found in Sy; as to Ar, Wolff has "die beste Unternehmung die, welche das erfreulichste Ende nimmt," which might conceivably be *yat kāuśalam*, but might also be a slight misunderstanding of *yan nirmalam* The Pa versions of the second phrase hardly help us to decide, as they are confused, but JCap has bona vero fama in artificus permanet custorum, Derenbourg justly observes that "in artificus" is obscure in meaning, does it somehow or other represent confusedly *matimān*?

(7) I vs 92 a SP, N, H, Pn *ārādhyamāno nrpatih prayatnād*, T *ārā*° *bahubhih prakārāir*.

(8) I vs 103 c d SP, N, Pn *naṣṭam krtam akrtajñe naṣṭam dākṣinyam agunajñe* (Pn, SP v l *anabhijñe*) T *naṣṭo guno 'gunajñe na*° *dā*° *akrtajñe*.

(9) I § 328 SP, H, Pn, and T are all verbally very close to each other. The word *vāṅmadhurah* of the original (SP, H, Pn) is corrupted in T The corruption is somehow connected with the fact that in Pn it is preceded by the word *ādāu* For these two words T (ed) has simply *ādāu madhurah*, omitting *vāṅ*-; vv ll of T mss are *ādāvātmadhurah*, *ādāv ātmaharah*

(10) I vs 125 d SP, N, Hp *sa krcchre 'pi na sīdati*, SPα *sa krcchreṣv avasīdati*, Hm *krcchrenāpi na sī*°, Pn *na sa krcchresu sī*° —T *saphalās tasya buddhayah* —Pa gives no help

(11) I vs 171 c SP, Pn *prabādhitāu* (SP ed *vibā°*, α *prabā°*), T *pīpasitāu*

(12) I vs 173 b See above p 88 The SP, N, H, Pn version forms a better parallel for pāda a

(13) II § 62 SP, Pn *pratyāyito*, probably supported by Pa, Br, H *āpyāyito*, T mss *pratyarthito* See p 93 f

(14) II vs 36 SP, N, Pn *vasam*, T *sthānam*, in a, SP, N, Pn *bhagnamānam*, T *mānahīnam*, in b

(15) II vs 54 c d Pn *samcintitam tv āuṣadham āturam hi kim nāmamātrena karoty arogam* So Ur-SP (with various vv ll) except *na* for *kim*, and for *āturam hi*, N, H *āturāṇām*, SP *āturāṅgo*, SPα *°gam* —T *ullāghayaty āturam āusadham hi kim nāma° bhavaty arogah*

(16) II vs 55 SP, N, H, Pn *adhyavasāyabhīroh*, T *avyava°*, in a SP, N, H, Pn *artham*, T *āndhyam*, in d See p 105

(17) II vs 61 SP, N, H, Pn *sāhasāc ca parihīnam* (*°nam*) in b, *pramadeva hi vrddhapatim* in c T *pāuruṣavihīnam* (so with α), and *vrddham iva patim pramadā*

(18) II vs 64 c SP, N, Pn *valmīkaśrṅgasadrśam ca sadā* (SP, N *mahā-*) *nagendram* T *°śikharam* for *°sadrśam* (T is intrinsically inferior)

(19) II vs 69 Found only in SP, N, H, Pn

(20) II § 207 SP and Pn begin the deer's story in the same way, T has a long unoriginal insertion See Crit App

(21) II vs 91 Found only in SP, N, H, Pn

(22) III vs 74 b SP, N, Pn *rajah paśyaty asamśrītā*, T *ra° paśyati cakṣuṣā* (a *lectio facilior*)

(23) III vs 81 b SP, N, Pn *kālāpekṣī hrdayanihitam* (N *°te*), T *kālākāṅkṣi pihitanayano* *Cf* Ks (following T), *kālakāṅkṣinā*

(24) III vs 90 T transposes pādas a and b from the order in which they are found in SP, N, Pn

Agreements of Ur-SP and Pa.—(1) I § 3 SP, H *dakṣiṇāpathe*, supported by Ar Dstb' (lacuna in Sy), T, Spl, Ks *dākṣiṇātye janapade*, Pn *°tyeṣu °padeṣu*, So *nagare kvacit*

(2) I § 7, first clause SP *tatrālabhamānasya na kimcid asti* H similarly Ar (lacuna in Sy) Denn wenn er nicht erwirbt und kein Vermogen hat, findet er keinen Lebensunterhalt This clause is obviously required by the logical development of the theme It is nevertheless omitted in T, evidently by accident, and also in Pn, which here follows T Spl and Br omit the entire section, so that nothing can be argued from their silence

(3) I vs 67 a SP, N, H *visadigdhasya bhaktasya* (with vv ll), T, Pn *kantakasya ca (tu) bhagnasya* Pa supports SP, N, H Sy Ein angefressener Zahn (= pāda a) und eine faule Speise, Ar similarly

(4) I vs 96 a SP, N *vāidyavidvajjanāmātyā*, T *vāidyasāmvatsarāmātyā* Not in Sy, but Ar proves that the original was "scholars" and not 'astrologers" (OSp los teólogos de la ley) OSp also reproduces very well the other two members of the compound cualquier de los vasallos al señor, o de los físicos al enfermo

(5) I vs 118 A verse in SP, N, prose in T, Pn, equivalents in So, Pa, and a different verse of similar meaning in Spl. There are two indications

that Pa's original probably agreed with SP, N First, Sy begins "Und es heißt ja" (Ar similarly), which is a favorite way of introducing what was originally a verse Secondly, the "Kadaver" of Pa (see Crit App) points to *pitr rana-(vihamgāir*, or the like) of pāda b of SP, N, no equivalent of which is found in the other Skt versions

(6) I § 459 Only in SP, H, and Pa is it stated that Karataka and Damanaka went to visit the lion at this point But it seems that they must represent the original, and that the other versions must have carelessly omitted the statement, since the two jackals are present later on at the battle between the lion and the bull, in all versions

(7) II vs 11 A verse in SP, N, H, prose, and briefer, in T, omitted in Jn and Br The version of Sy seems to support SP, N, and H, see my Crit App

(8) II § 233 See above, p 87 f.

(9) III §§ 78 and 79 In SP, H, and Pa the elephant-king addresses the moon with apologies and promises (in language that is unusually close) This is what we naturally expect, it is what the elephant had come for In T (followed by Pn), altho the elephant first makes obeisance to the moon, or, in Pn, apologizes to it, nevertheless his speech is addrest to the hare, not to the moon In Spl, Br no speech is mentioned

(10) III § 102 end After the tricky cat says he cannot hear well because of age and deafness, SP and Pa say that the hare and the partridge drew nearer SP *tatas tāu nikatībhūya kathayatah*, Sy Und so naheiten sie sich noch um ein Kleines und erzahlten ihren Rechtshandel mit lauter Stimme Similarly Ar Others nothing *Cf* next

(11) III § 103 Just after preceding SPα tatas *tatsamnidhānārtham viśvāsam upapādayatā* dadhikarnena dharmaśāstram pathitam. Sy Er aber sprach zu ihnen, *damit sie Zutrauen zu ihm faßten und herantraten* —The italicized words are represented nowhere else, but seem to be original

(12) III vs 53 c SP *dāgdham davānalenāpi* (and so N intends, corruptly) T, Jn *vācā duruktam bībhatsam* Probably represented in Pa Sy Überhandnehmendes Feuer kann mit Wasser niedergeschlagen werden, [then expansion,] aber Verbitterung [JCap ignis vero inimicicie] laßt sich mit nichts ausloschen noch beruhigen T and Pn have no mention of fire

(13) III vs 92 T (β, omitted in α) puts pāda a of SP, N last Ar begins with what is pāda a of SP and N, but pāda d of T But since Pa frequently transposes, this can hardly be regarded as conclusive proof of the originality of SP, N

(14) III vs 105 c d SP, N *buddhir buddhimatotsrstā hanyād* (SP *hanti*) *rāṣṭram* (so SPα, N, SP ed *rājyam*) *sarājakam* T *prājñena tu matih kṣiptā hanyād garbhagatān api* Pa supports SP, N Sy Ein Kluger aber vernichtet durch seine Klugheit einen Konig und sein Land.

(15) IV § 8 SP *sahajacāpalād*, Sy Bei seiner Narrischheit Nothing of this sort in T

(16) IV § 42, end The ape says to himself, in SP *kaṣṭam, naṣto 'smi; vrddhatve 'py ajitendriyatvaphalam anubhavāmi kim ca* Sy is fragmentary; Ar Alas, in spite of my many years greediness has cast me into an abyss

of misfortunes He was right who said —T has no speech So has a speech to a different effect *hantāitadartham ānītah pāpenāham ihāmunā*

(17) IV vs 14 Found (immediately after the preceding) only in SP, N, and Pa (Ar)

(18) IV § 45 The ape explains his allegation that his heart is on the tree by saying, in SP *vānarahrdayam sadā taruṣu tiṣṭhatīti prasiddham* Sy So ist es die Gewohnheit von uns Affen, daß wir beim Ausgehen unser Herz nicht mitnehmen Ar similarly, with addition of reasons for the alleged custom, which vary in the different versions and are evidently secondary Nothing like this in T

(19) V § 16 end The brahman, dreaming of his she goats, says "they will bear young at the age of six months," then, in SP, *tasyāś cāpatyāni tathāiva prasūyante* Sy Und ebenso ihre weiblichen Nachkommen Not in the others

Agreements of Ur-SP with So and Kṣ.—I believe that these versions preserve the original, against variations in T and Jn, in several places in the story of the Ass in the Panther's Skin (III 1), especially in III §§ 32 and 33, on which see my Crit App (This entire story is omitted in Pa) In these two sections SP, H, and So, also Ks to some extent, agree very closely, while T and Jn are wholly different, and moreover do not agree even with each other While both Ur-SP and Br abbreviate, they usually do so independently of each other, and here they coincide to such an extent that it is hard to think it an accident Moreover, in § 33 they are actually *longer* than T's version?—which of course is usually fuller than they

Agreements of Pa and Jn.—1 § 95 end Jn *ity avadhārya* (Spl *evam sampradhārya*) *sthānāntaram gatvā damanakamārgam* (Spl *damanakam*) *avalokayann ekākī tasthāu* (Pn *°ky evātasthe*) Ar Nachdem der Lowe unablässig hierüber nachgedacht, duldete es ihn nicht langer an seinem Platze und er machte sich auf den Weg Und ab und zu setzte er sich nieder und schaute den Weg entlang —The whole passage of which this forms a part is found only in T, Jn, and Pa, so that the other versions, except T, could show nothing on this T has no such statement as that quoted, unless possibly part of it is included, confusedly, in the last part of the lion's soliloquy, just preceding But at least T has no phrase corresponding in any way to *damanakamārgam avalokayann* (Ar schaute den Weg entlang)

(2) I § 147 The weaver has waked up and spoken to his wife (as he supposes, but really the barber's wife who has taken her place) She makes no reply Then—Pn *so 'pi bhūyas tām tad evāha* Spl practically the same Sy Nachdem er sie oftmals gerufen hatte Nothing in the others (T, SP, H)

(3) I vs 97 b Spl *drohacyutānām* (rather than T *ekārpanānām*) seems to be supported by Ar (KF with love remote from deceit), Sy omits the word The vs occurs only in T, Spl, Pa. T seems to me inferior to Spl in d also, see p 176 below

(4) I § 198 Beginning of the story of Heron and Crab Spl and Sy are very close to each other and seem to represent the original Spl *asti*

kasmiṃścit pradeśe nānājalacarasanātham saraḥ tatra ca kṛtāśrayo baka eko vṛddhabhāvam upāgato matsyān vyāpādayitum asamarthaḥ— Sy Es war einmal ein Fischreiher, der wohnte bei einem Wasser, in dem sich [Rohricht und] viele Fische befanden Als er ins Alter kam, konnte er nicht mehr viele Fische fangen und wurde schwach —The other versions are all more or less fragmentary T only *asti kaścid bako vṛddhabhāvāt sukhopāyām vṛttim ākāṅkṣamāṇaḥ* SP only *asti kaścid vṛddhabakaḥ* Pn locates the heron *sarastīraikadeśe*, else much like T So locates the heron *matsyādhye sarasi* (supporting Spl and Sy with *matsyādhye*, which no other version has) In H the lake is mentioned, as in Spl, Pn So, Pa, and also the heron is *sāmarthyahīna*

(5) I vs 83 Found only in T, Pn, Pa, the second half is radically different in T and Pn Pa's version seems to be a garbled equivalent of Pn, and is in any case closer to it than to T See Crit App.

(6) I vs 129 Again Pa seems to support Pn against T, see below p 176

(7) I vs 139 Found in T and Pa, and in Pn (pāda a in one verse, pādas b c d in another just before it) While Pn is secondary in separating the pādas, and T's pāda a is better represented in Pa than Pn's, nevertheless in pādas b and c Pa seems to support Pn against T Namely, in b T has *khalānām*, Pn *mandānām*, Sy der Tor, in c, T *cakṣuḥsaṃskārajam*, Pn *cakṣuḥprabodhanam*, Sy das Licht, mittels dessen sonst jedermann sieht

(8) I § 506 end Dustabuddhi suggests dividing part of the find of money and hiding the rest, and he continues in Spl *bhūyo 'pi prayojane saṃjāte tanmātram sametyāsmāt sthānān neṣyāvaḥ* So Pa (Ar, lacuna in Sy) And when we need ready cash, we will go together and take what we need This is all omitted in SP and Br, and in T, which Pn follows, we find a wholly different motivation, which seems to me clearly secondary *yatkāraṇam, puṇyaparīkṣā hrāsavṛddhibhyam* (so ed em with Pn, mss °*dhitā*) *bhaviṣyaty ekārthatā ca janaspṛhaṇīyā*

(9) I vs 175 Occurs in Skt only in Pn, a reflex of the last pāda seems clearly found in Pa, see Crit App

(10) II § 18 The doves are to fly *gṛivitaruvisamabhūbhāgānām upari*, according to Pn No other Skt. version has the like. Pa's versions are confused among themselves but seem clearly to point to an original something like Pn Sy has, according to Schulthess, "in die Pflanzungen," but Bickell "in den Wald." JCap, which seems to be the most original Ar version here, has per montes et colles et arbores (! very close to Pn !), OSp "by the place of the many trees and the inhabited region," Cheikho "over the fields, the gardens, and the inhabited regions" The "inhabited regions" of some Ar versions seem to be due to an anticipation of § 21, later on, where the doves finally go to the city to visit the mouse Note that in Ar, owing to confusion in the order of the sections, this § 21 follows immediately after § 18.

(11) II § 59 This section (see my Crit App) has no trace in any versions but T, Jn, and Pa, both T and Jn are fragmentary, having preserved different parts of the original, as represented perfectly by Pa alone The larger part of the section occurs in Jn but not in T

(12) II § 65 In the speech of the crow to the mouse, the words of Pn *yad durgān na nirgacchasi* are omitted in T, but found in Pa (Sy und kommst nicht zu deinem Loche heraus, Ar What keeps you at the door of your hole and what hinders you from coming out to me?) The other versions omit the entire section

(13) II vs 33 ab T, Pn *tyajanti mitrāni dhanena hīnam* (T *dhanāir vihīnam*) *putrāś ca dārāś ca sahodarāś* (T *suhrjjanāś*) *ca* Pa supports Pn in b (Sy seine Verwandten, Ar his relatives) Moreover T's version is improbable *a priori*, since *suhrjjanāś* is a synonym of *mitrāni* (pāda a) and therefore pleonastic

(14) II § 158 end The mouse hopes to get back his money,—Spl *yena bhūyo 'pi me vittaprabhāvenādhipatyaṁ pūrvavad bhavati* Sy und kommt mir ein Teil der alten Kraft wieder und wenden sich mir dann auch meine Freunde wieder zu Ar similarly T, Pn have nothing like this sentence, the other Skt versions omit the entire §

(15) II § 229 See above, p 158

(16) II § 237 After lamenting the capture of the tortoise for some time, at last the mouse says to his other friends, (Spl) *aho kim vrthāpralapitena* (&c, suggests the need of doing something) In Pa this is apparently represented by Sy So richtig du auch gesprochen hast, so haben wir doch von der Traurigkeit keinen Nutzen (Ar likewise) It is found in no other version In Pa it is put into the mouths of the deer and crow, a rationalizing change, since it was (in all versions) the mouse whose lamentation was quoted, it therefore seemed to the Pa redactor more natural that the others should question the value of lamenting

(17) III § 46 As a result of the twelve-year drought mentioned in the preceding section, Jn say *tayā* (Pn*āyayā*) *tadāgahradapalvalasarānsi śoṣam upāgatāni* (Pn *upa°*) Sy und Saat, Gras und Kraut waren spärlich, sogar die Flusse und Quellen waren versiegt Ar likewise Not stated in other versions It seems that a definite statement is at least desirable, if not necessary, since the point of the story depends on the fact that the elephants could find no water because the ponds were all dry Of course, this is implied in all the versions

(18) III § 134 The wise crow-minister, in prescribing the feigned maltreatment which he wishes to be inflicted upon him, instructs his master in Jn and Pa to pretend to be angry at him Jn *atiniṣṭhuravacanāir nirbhartsya* (Spl *bhartsaya*), Sy Mein Herr ergrimmt uber mich angesichts des Gefolges und außert sich schlimm uber mich Ar likewise The equivalent of these words occurs nowhere else

(19) III § 152 Pn *śapati*, T mss *'bhipatati* (or *'tipatati*), emended by Hertel to Pn's reading Sy den verflucht sein Gluck Ar versions seem not to contain the word "curse," but doubtless Sy (supported by Pn) contains the original Pahlavi version

(20) III § 162 end The old man, awakened by his wife's sudden embrace, catches sight of the thief, and—in Spl—*acintayat, nūnam eṣā cāurasya śaṅkayā māṁ samāliṅgati* Similarly Pn, Pa (Sy wußte er, daß sie ihn aus Furcht vor diesem umarmt hatte) Natural as this seems, and

close to each other as Jn and Pa are in language, I do not feel confident that both have not expanded the text secondarily For T, SP, and So are also very close to each other at this point, and none of them have a trace of this, tho of course the idea is clearly implied in them

Agreements of Pa and So (Ks).—(1) I § 69 The lion, being askt by Damanaka why he has stopt after setting out for water, soliloquizes in So *lakṣito 'smy amunā tat kim bhaktasyāsya nigūhyate* In Sy he says Weil nun Dmng diese Stimme gehort hat, will ich ihm das Geheimnis offenbaren und ihn dabei auf seinen Verstand und auf seine Freundschaft prufen —The first clause of Sy seems to correspond to So's *lakṣito* &c, which has no correspondent in the other versions, and "Freundschaft" seems to point to So's *bhaktasya,* which is also not found elsewhere, rather than to *yogyo* of T, Jn (with which cf Sy Verstand ?)

(2) I § 89 In proposing to go and investigate the noise, Damanaka asks the lion's permission in So (*manyase yadi*) and Pa (Ar Der Konig geruhe nun, mich nach dieser Stimme auszuschicken, lacuna in Sy), whereas in the others he simply states his intention of going

(3) I § 311 As Damanaka leaves the lion to visit the bull, the text of So, Ks and Pa and perhaps SP (? so ed, but not SPα nor H) expresses variously the idea which I have exprest in the reconstruction by *siṃham vikṛtahṛdayam vidhāya* Tho the other versions have nothing of the sort, it seems at least possible that the Pa and Br versions may have inherited such a phrase from the original Even this cannot be considered certain, however, as it might be a secondary summary of the preceding passage And we cannot guess with confidence at the language, even supposing that the thot was exprest in the original Hence I enclose the words not only in parentheses but between daggers

Agreements of Jn and So (Ks).—(1) I § 112 This section, stating that Saṃjīvaka saluted the lion on coming into his presence, is found only in Spl, Pn, So, and Ks It seems plausible and is probably original

(2) I § 255 In Jn and So the lion, on seeing his image in the well, roars into the well, and takes the echo for the answering roar of the other lion This incident certainly sounds good, and is very likely original, it seems not very probable that two versions would think of this sort of a variation independently

(3) III § 47 Both Jn versions with So and Ks name the elephant-king Caturdanta, which is evidently original T has the synonym Caturdaśana; the other versions give no name

(4) III § 244 This is one of the clearest cases in which the original can be reconstructed with virtual certainty on the basis of two versions alone—in this case, Pn and So, and also one of the clearest cases of T's secondariness Hertel discusses the passage Tantr Einl p 59, but wholly misunderstands it, largely owing to failure to note the evidence of Somadeva; partly also owing to mistakes in identifying various Pahlavi passages with passages of the Sanskrit versions His parallel passages *op cit* p 60 ff are incorrect. What is called "vs 62" of Sy, along with the immediately following "A 215 a and b," have nothing to

do with the passage we are now considering, but belong with T A 219, our § 262, which occurs in exactly the same position as these T passages Therefore, the question so earnestly discust by Hertel, as to whether the order of T or of Pa is distorted, is liquidated, neither one has distorted order —As to the passage we are now discussing it forms a unit with the immediately following vs 76 and § 245 No trace of this entire passage is found in SP (or its relatives) or Pa, so we must rely on T, Jn and Br The passage occurs after the owl-king, in spite of the remonstrance of his wisest minister, has started for his home, taking with him as a protege the wily crow, Cira(m)jīvin On the way the crow reflects to himself

§ 244 Pn nīyamānas cāntarlīnam avahasya sthirajīvī vyacintayat
So ity uktaś cirajīvī sa raktāksena vyacintayat
(Note even the identical verb of thinking in Pn and So)
Vs 76 vadhyatām iti yenoktam svāmino hitavādinā
sa evāiko 'tra mantribhyo nītiśāstrārthatattvavit
Thus T and Pn (except Pn hanyatām in a, sarvesām for mantribhyo in c) Spl has prose equivalent in meaning, and Ks seems also to have a trace of the vs (see Crit App) In So, however, the correspondence is unmistakable nītijñasya na cāitasya rājñānena krtam vacah, śesā mūrkhā ime sarve
§ 245 T (β only) yady apy ete śrnuyuh, tadāsā me saphalā na syād iti
Pn tad yadi tasya vacanam akarisyann ete, tato na svalpo 'py anartho 'bhavisyad etesām
So tat kāryam siddham eva me (cf also under prec vs, which is partially fused with this in So)

Note that T lacks § 244 entirely! An obvious lacuna (recognized as such by Hertel in his Translation, tho in the Introduction to it, l c, he does not seem clear in his own mind about it) When Hertel (l c note 2) speaks of Pūrnabhadra's version as a "konjekturelle Besserung", he forgets Somadeva! Is So's version also a "konjekturelle Besserung"? —The reason why Tα has omitted § 245 (found in Tβ and unquestionably in the Ur-T) evidently is that Tα interprets vs 76 as a comment of the author, not a reflection of the crow, and since § 245 is inconsistent with this interpretation, drops it out The occurrence of both passages in Pn and So, as well as antecedent plausibility (which is all in favor of the verse being a reflection of the crow, it is not at all the sort of verse which the author of the Pañcatantra uses, or would naturally use, *in propria persona*, and So also puts it in the mouth of the crow), make the interpretation here suggested seem to me the only possible one

Other unoriginal features of Tantrākhyāyika.—To complete the case against the Tantrākhyāyika as "the original Pañcatantra", I append here a few other examples of passages in which it appears to me to have departed from the original These passages are put here because they do not seem to belong definitely with any of the preceding groups

(1) I § 160 T represents the barber as returning from the king's palace (*rājakulāt*) in order to get his razors so as to go and ply his trade in the king's palace (*rājakule*, § 161)! Jn follow T in § 160, and change § 161 so as to remove this absurdity It seems clear that T cannot possibly be right in both places The Pa version of § 161 seems to show that T's statement of the barber's destination in that place is original (in spite of Jn's variant) We must therefore reject T's *rājakulāt* in § 160, which is supported by no version except Jn (interdependent with T) In § 160 H and Pa have no mention of the place whence the barber comes SP has *anyatah*, and we may reasonably guess that this is the original SP could have had no reason for changing the place whence the barber was coming in § 160, for it has no mention of his destination in § 161

(2) T §§ 195, 227, 229 ff, and vs 60 In the story of the Crows and Serpent, T makes the catch-verse inconsistent with the prose story, in the former it is the female crow who steals the ornament, in the latter the male crow Apparently in the original it was the female crow Some of the other versions are also confused, in different ways See notes in my Crit App on §§ 195 and 227

(3) I § 252 In T the hare's story of how he had been stopt by another lion is abbreviated to the single word *sinhena* (sc, *vidhrto 'smi*) Tho the other versions are not very close to each other, they all agree in having the hare make a longer story of it, and it seems to me *a priori* almost certain that the original cannot have been so brief as in T

(4) I § 253 T first has an insertion found in no other version, in which the lion reflects that he will not eat the hare until he has made him show him the rival lion In the same section T also omits the hare's reply to the lion's speech (see above, p 162)

(5) I vs 97 d This vs is found only in T, Spl, and Pa In pāda b Pa supports a variant of Spl against T (see above, p. 171) In pāda d (Spl *tasmād ambupater ivāvanipateh sevā sadāśankinī*), T reads *ambunidher* for *ambupater*, spoiling the word-play (*ambu-pati avani-pati*) on the words for "sea" and "king" It seems clear that Spl is original

(6) I vs 129 a The vs occurs only in T, Pn, and Pa. Pn reads *antar-gūḍhabhujamgamam grham iva vyālākulam vā vanam* T varies with *antar-līna°* and *°ivāntahsthograsinham vanam* Pn has better meter, since in *śardūlavikrīdita* there should be a cesura where Pn has it, after *iva* Moreover it seems that Pn's *vyāla* is represented in Pa rather than T's *sinha*, Sy has Panther, Ar apparently "wild beast", tho OSp has león, but Derenbourg on JCap *ad loc* says this is a mistranslation —In pāda c Pa seems to support Pn against T, tho this is not certain, see Crit App

(7) I §§ 547 Dharmabuddhi's action at the trial See above, p. 97

(8) II § 63 Found only in T, Pn, and Pa. Pn is fragmentary, and T is obviously confused, only in Pa do we find consistent sense. See Crit. App. This is a case in which we can only patch up a makeshift version based on Pa, using such fragments of text as are confusedly preserved in T and Pn

(9) II vs 25 d SPα and N *ekārimitratām* ("state of having the same friends and enemies," SP ed. *evātimi°*); T, Pn *ekānta°*, Spl *krtrima°* That

ekāni° is right seems indicated by T vs 40 (an unoriginal verse), where we find this word in a like connexion

(10) II §§ 121, 122, vs 29 § 123 The reflections of the jackal upon finding the dead hunter, deer and boar are represented in T by the verse alone (our vs 29) T has certainly lost the rest of the jackal's utterance, including the last part of § 121 and all of §§ 122 and 123 The originality of at least most of this passage is shown by Jn, SP (especially SPα), H, and Pa, and partly also by Br See Crit App

(11) III vs 62 Occurs only in T, Spl, and Pa In cd the meter of T is inconsistent with the meter of ab, in Spl it is consistent Pa gives no evidence

(12) III § 290 After this section T represents the serpent as reciting *to the frog king* its vs 110, with allusion to the story of the "Butter-blind Brahman" This spoils the story, since it would have given away the whole trick to the frog king, and in particular it is inconsistent with the next following verse in T, our vs 96, T vs 111, which shows conclusively that the serpent had no intention at this time of hinting at his true plans, but on the contrary was keeping up the deception No other version is guilty of such a lapse The verse T 110 is found elsewhere only in Pn, but Pn, tho he follows T here, saw the absurdity of the verse as it stands in T, and emended the text He has this vs (and the story to which it alludes, which T does not have) recited by the serpent to another serpent, who (out of the frog-king's hearing) asks him why he lets the frogs ride him All this is evidently an invention of Pn, intended to smooth over the inconsistency in the text as found in T

(13) IV § 32 ff T has omitted parts of the original, and changed other parts, see p 103 f above

(14) IV § 36 T has borrowed a sentence from IV § 65, see p 102 f

(15) IV §§ 74 and 75 T is confused and has omitted part of the original account of the second conversation between the jackal and the ass, by which the jackal persuades the ass to go back again to the lion See Crit App

(16) IV § 78 T's version of the jackal's reflections, after the lion has left him in charge of the dead ass and gone to bathe, is certainly secondary, and may fairly be called nonsensical See Crit App

Insertions in Tantrākhyāyika.—Finally I append here a group of passages in which it appears to me that T has added to the original text Some such cases have been noted above (stories added, p 74 ff other additions, e g p 83, p 84) The passages here collected are all cases which (so far as I am aware) have not previously been identified as insertions (with one or two exceptions which will be noted), in fact, some of them Hertel specifically alleges to be parts of the original I do not include here, as a rule, inserted verses I regard as probable insertions all verses of T not included in my reconstruction The list can easily be deduced by a process of elimination (all those not found in my Conspectus of Text-Units, p 192 ff)

(1) KM § 13 In T the king promises a reward to anyone who shall first report to him the completion of his sons' education No such feature is found elsewhere

(2) I § 85 The expression of the jackal's hopes of finding food in the drum is very awkwardly duplicated in T

(3) I § 120 T A 34, line 3 In T the lion puts Saṃjīvaka in charge of certain official functions, the exact meaning of which is not clear (see Hertel's Translation, p 17) Hertel (l c note 1) argues that the passage is original, on the ground that it is represented in the Hitopadeśa The passage in H to which he refers is a long expansion in which a brother of the lion appears and advises the lion to put S in charge of the commissary, which Karataka and Damanaka are wasting There is absolutely no verbal correspondence between this passage and that of T It seems to me clear that the passage of H is an invention out of whole cloth No one can doubt that the most of it is For instance, the lion's brother is unknown elsewhere And it is very unlikely that H should have included in this long invented passage a fragmentary bit of the original Such is not the custom of H in these unoriginal insertions of which it contains many In view of the total lack of support for the passage in all other texts there is little doubt in my mind that T's sentence is unoriginal

(4) I § 142 (cf § 145) T is clearly secondary in having the weaver come home and fall asleep *twice* and wake up again before binding his wife to the pillar According to T, the weaver comes home and immediately falls asleep, wakes up, scolds his wife, whereupon she tries to reply, but he falls asleep again, and only after waking up once more does he bind her to the pillar These two cases of falling asleep are mere blundering anticipations of § 145 It is clear from the sense (even without the perfect agreement of all the other versions) that he beats (and, according to Jn with T, scolds) his wife before he goes to sleep at all The beating is omitted altogether in T, whose account is bizarre and secondary

(5) After I vs 71 T inserts its A 51, of which a remote imitation seems to be found in Pn p 59, l 12 No other version has the like, it is repetitious and poor in meaning, and doubtless unoriginal

(6) After I vs 105 T inserts its A 69, probably a corruption of a stanza (Hertel, note *ad loc*), not represented elsewhere

(7) After I vs 118 (prose in T), T has an insertion (A 76, l 3, *tasmāt pūrvam* &c), with a vs (119), found nowhere else, except that Pn has an equivalent of the prose sentence

(8) I § 537 All versions agree in having the crab ask the heron simply "Why are you sad?" or words to that effect In T we find *tam āha māma, kim adyāpy āhāro nānusthīyata iti bakah* (β *asāv āha*) *adhṛtiparītasya me kuta āhārābhilāṣa iti yato 'sāv āha kimlakṣanasamutthādhṛtih* —The crab's first question is practically identical with the question addrest by another crab to another heron in the story of the Heron and Crab (our I 5), and is evidently borrowed by T from that place, where it was much more appropriate than it is here.

(9) I § 548 end The sentence in T which expresses Dustabuddhi's perturbation at seeing the bonfire lighted has no support in the other versions While it makes good enuf sense, it seems to me hardly likely that all the other versions would have omitted it if it had been in the original (it is not the sort of feature which would be apt to fall out repeatedly by mere accident, and it is hard to see why anyone should have omitted it deliberately) I therefore think that it was probably not original — The point is that otherwise it would be necessary to suppose that it was left out *at least three different times*, and with *no substitute* in place of it

(10) After I vs 162, T has an inserted passage (A 114, vss 172, 173, A 115) which is elsewhere found only in Pn, and which interrupts the thread of the discourse, which is resumed at the point where it was broken off by this insertion This seems to me to confirm the unanimity of the other versions in indicating the secondariness of the passage See Crit App

(11) II § 11 T alone has a speech of the hunter, reflecting on the large number of birds he has caught

(12) II § 13 T puts the plan for the escape of the doves into the mouth of a *jaratkapota*, not of the dove-king as in all other versions

(13) After II § 17, T has a duplication of § 15 and vs 2, repeating the reflections of the hunter It is most obviously repetitious and secondary I believe this is admitted by Hertel somewhere, tho I have lost the reference

(14) II § 38 T has a much fuller, and probably expanded, version of the dove-king's speech to the mouse

(15) II § 66 is only found in T and Pa Both contain the comparison of grain given to birds by hunters (as a "gift" not intended to benefit the receiver) T alone adds the comparison of the net given to the fishes But this is a very lame comparison, it is the *bait,* not the net, that should be mentioned if the comparison were to hold good, the *net* cannot be regarded as a 'present" to the fishes in any sense, and cannot be thot of as an attraction for them It seems clear that this is a stupid and secondary insertion in T

(16) After II § 82 occurs in T a fragment (vss 39—42) of narrative and description cast in poetic form, which partly duplicates the surrounding prose It looks as if this might have been borrowed from some poetic version, now lost (as suggested first by Thomas) Hertel (*WZKM* 25 19) admits the probability of the borrowing

(17) II § 118 T, followed by Pn, inserts a reflection by the hunter on seeing the boar (including a verse) No other version has the like

(18) II § 133 At the end of this T inserts a prose passage and vs, found nowhere else, in which the demand for huskt sesame in exchange for huskt is emphasized See above, p 106, bottom

(19) II § 152 T is repetitious in its version of the remarks of the mouse's followers, and its account of their desertion of him is certainly much longer than the others, and in my opinion contains an inserti

(20) On II vss 70–72 and § 174 which are all that is original of a long passage in T, see above, p 161

(21) After II § 197 T has an insertion, including several vss, representing reflections of the deer after he has been caught No other version has anything of the sort

(22) Before II § 207, at the beginning of the story of the Deer's Former Captivity, T has a long and bizarre insertion

(23 and 24) II §§ 220, 221 Insertions in both of these sections, found in T only, in the former a long one, with several verses

(25) III § 8 T inserts a long *nīti* passage spoken by *kecid vṛddhāḥ* to the crow king in response to his inquiry No other version has the like, and it seems improbable that it is original for the additional reason that the ministers of the crow-king are not introduced until later, and we must wonder who these *kecid vṛddhāḥ* were —The last sentence of A 200 in T (*evam uktvākrāntībhūtāḥ*) has no connexion with this inserted passage, it refers (or at least did refer in the original) to the king and his ministers not to the inserted *vṛddhāḥ*, and it is doubtless original, since it seems to be represented in Pa

CHAPTER VIII

THE ORIGINAL WORK AS REVEALED BY THE RECONSTRUCTION

Purpose of this chapter—In this chapter I shall first summarize the little evidence which I have been able to gather from the reconstruction as to certain mooted questions about the original work: its original name and the meaning thereof, its date and authorship, its place of origin its language, and its character as a political textbook This will be followed by a tabular Conspectus of Stories found in the original, and finally by a Conspectus of smaller Text-Units, showing in minute detail the extent to which each section and verse of the reconstruction is supported by correspondences in the older extant versions

Name of the original work.—There is no doubt, I think, that the original name was Pañcatantra (neuter, nominative °tram) This is the name used exclusively in the Southern Pañcatantra, the Nepalese apparently also knew this name alone, the Hitopadeśa used a Pañcatantra, the Jain versions call themselves Pañcākhyāna(ka), but are "also called Pañcatantra" (and see my Critical Apparatus on KM § 14, here Jn call the work Pañcatantraka only[1]), the Tantrākhyāyika mss call themselves Tantrākhyāyika or °kā, but several of the β mss have also the name Pañcatantra in one or two places Hertel thinks they borrowed this name from "K" I have already indicated that I do not believe in this "K" and do not believe there is any reason to think that the Tβ mss are contaminated from any other known version Since, therefore, the name Pañcatantra is found in all versions that give any name (none is found in Bl and Pa), and is the only name so found, it seems to me quite clear that it is the original name

Meaning of the name.—As to its meaning, it apparently means "(the work) consisting of five *tantras*" There has been considerable discussion as to what *tantra* means, as a title of one of

the five subdivisions of the Pañcatantra Hertel thinks it means "Klugheitsfall," "trick" (*Pañc* p 10) Others (*e g* Winternitz, *DLZ* 1910, Sp 2700) think it means simply "book" or division of a literary work My own opinion now inclines to agree with the latter This is, however, a question on which the reconstruction throws no light so far as I can see, and I can adduce no argument on either side that has not been previously advanst

Date of the original work—On this point also I have found no new evidence Hertel's previous estimate of ca 200 B C for the original was certainly too early, as Hertel has since then recognized In his book *Das Pañcatantra* he brings the date down to about 300 A D, following Winternitz and Thomas (*op cit* p 9) The chief argument for the later date seems to be the occurrence of the word *dīnāra* (*denarius*) in the original (in which it unquestionably occurred, see *e g* Reconstruction I § 501) Keith has since pointed out (*JRAS* 1915, p 505 f) that itacism occurs in Hellenistic Greek before the Christian era, so that the pronunciation of the word *denarius* as if *dinarius* might be older than Jolly (*Recht und Sitte*, p 23) supposed, and it is on Jolly's opinion that the assumed lateness of *dīnāra* is based However, it should be observed that it is not merely a question of itacistic pronunciation of the word, but of the word itself It was originally a Roman coin, and only after spreading to the Greek world and thru it to the Farther East could it have got establisht in India As used in the Pañcatantra it is evidently a very familiar, even commonplace coin So that in spite of Keith's objection we can hardly suppose that a Hindu work in which this word is so used could be anything but post-Christian

I think it is at present impossible to say more about the date than that it was earlier than the sixth century A D, in which the Pahlavi translation was made, and later than the beginning of the Christian era

Authorship of the original work.—On this subject too I have no new evidence There is, in fact, really no evidence at all as to who the author was I think there can be little doubt that the name Viṣṇuśarman, applied in the Introduction to the wise brahman who tells the stories to the princes, is fictitious And there is no hint anywhere as to the true name or station

of the author We may, however, be sure (with Hertel) that he was an orthodox Hindu, that is, not a Buddhist or a Jaina I do not think that there is any reason for being confident that he was a member of the brahman caste, nor that he was a Visnuite sectarian, as Hertel believes (*Pañc* p 7)

Home of the original work.—On this subject also I find little positive evidence Hertel thinks the work was probably composed in Kashmir (Tantr Einl p 23 ff) But I think his arguments are wholly inconclusive, and in large part based on a false assumption, namely, that most of the Pañcatantra versions other than the Tantrākhyāyika (which is at home in Kashmir) go back to northwestern archetypes, if not to the Tantrākhyāyika itself Hertel's arguments based on the animals found in the Pañcatantra are also subjective and inconclusive I think there is no reason whatever to connect the original work with Kashmir

But I find little reason for connecting it with any other particular part of India, either There are few geographical references which can with confidence be attributed to the original work The scene of the frame-story of Book V is laid in the Gāuḍa land (V § 3), that is in Bengal, according to T, SP, and Ks, which is a pretty good guarantee that the original read so But this need mean nothing more than that the author of the original knew the name of this region Of all the older and better-known versions of the Pañcatantra, only the Hitopadeśa has been connected historically with Bengal, and this fact is unfavorable to the assumption that the original Pañcatantra was at home there No evidence can be derived from the list of pilgrimage-places mentioned in II § 98—Puskara, Gangādvāra (Hardwar), Prayāga (Allahabad), and Vārānasī (Benares) For, in the first place, we cannot be sure that these places were named in the original, since we find them only in the Tantrākhyāyika (altho the Old Syriac shows that at least *some* places of the sort were named in the original), and, in the second place, these are places whose names must have been known thruout the length and breadth of India, or at least in every part of it to which Brahmanical culture had penetrated Possibly more important is the mention of Mount Ṛṣyamūka in III § 134 We cannot, indeed, be certain that this name occurred in the original We find it only in the Tantrākhyāyika and the Jain versions. But other versions show

that *some* mountain was named here And the γ subrecension of the Southern Pañcatantra reads asyaśṛṅga (the edition of SP, following β, has the inferior reading apatyakaśṛṅga), which looks like a corruption of ṛṣyaśṛṅga (or ṛśya°), this is a well-known name of a man, but no mountain of the name is known, and it would not be an unplausible guess that SP goes back to an archetype which had *ṛṣyamūka* It is, therefore, at least very likely that T and Jn have preserved, in Ṛṣyamūka the name of the mountain as it was found in the original work Now, this mountain is mentioned in the Mārkandeya Purāna and in the Bṛhatsaṃhitā as located in the south of India See Kirfel, *Kosmographie der Inder*, p 85, and for further evidence Pargiter, *JRAS* 1894, p 253, Pargiter locates it in the western part of the Dekkan The manner in which the mountain is mentioned in III § 134 seems to suggest a familiarity with the place which might reasonably be supposed to indicate that the original author lived not very far from it, the comparative unfamiliarity of the name militates against the assumption that it might have been named in such a way by a person living in a remote part of India This bit of evidence therefore may be taken as tending to show that the home of the original Pañcatantra was in the south perhaps the southwest, of India But it would be rash to assume this with any confidence without further evidence to confirm it Such confirmation might possibly be seen in the fact that the scene of the whole Pañcatantra (see KM I § 1), as well as of the first book[1] (see I § 3), of the second book (see II § 3), and of the first emboxt story in Book II (see II § 91), is laid in the Dekkan, in a city named Mahilāropya (for which the variant Mihilāropya occurs repeatedly), a city which has not yet been identified and may be imaginary. Even this, however, hardly gives us complete proof that the work was composed in the south

Language of the original work —It is a pleasure to be able to agree whole-heartedly with Hertel's opinion on this subject In my opinion there cannot be the slightest doubt that the original was composed in the Sanskrit language I base this opinion on the fact, which my Critical Apparatus abundantly illustrates (and *cf* pp 130 ff above), that the identical Sanskrit language

[1] Here the city M is the bull's original home, the action really takes place near the Jumna (§§ 16, 19) The city Mathurā, on the Jumna, is named I § 9.

of the original is clearly preserved to a very great extent in all the versions. This is true even of Somadeva and Kṣemendra, to such an extent as to make me feel somewhat dubious about the usually accepted theory that they go back directly to a Prakrit original (which must in that case have been itself translated from the Sanskrit, as far as concerns their Pañcatantra sections), but see p. 51 above on this matter. If anyone can read my reconstruction and Critical Apparatus and still have doubts about the original language of the Pañcatantra, I shall be disappointed. It is hardly a matter to argue about; it is self-evident.—Of course, if anyone wishes to suppose that back of this original, here reconstructed, there may have been a still older version composed in some Prakrit dialect, he is at liberty to do so. But there is not a trace of such a thing in the text itself, so far as I have been able to see; and I consider it most improbable.

Character of the original as a political textbook.—On this point I can add little in principle to what I have already said in the first chapter of this Introduction (see p. 5), to which I beg the reader to turn at this point. I think Hertel is right in believing that the author conceived the work as one that should teach political wisdom. I cannot agree with him, however, when he erects this principle into a cast-iron rule, and argues that any story which does not seem to us to teach political wisdom must be rejected as unoriginal. This seems to me a gross exaggeration. It argues more care and consistency than I should be willing to attribute to any story-teller, or to any Hindu redactor of a book which, after all, is a book of stories—primarily that, I should say, and only secondarily a political textbook. At any rate, whether primarily or not, it *is* a book of stories, and I cannot believe that the author would have so rigorously restricted himself as Hertel thinks. Furthermore, there are different views possible as to what constitutes wise conduct in given cases. The Pañcatantra, like other books of the sort, often presents discordant views, evidently with intent; it arranges joint debates between characters in the stories. Thus it happens that at least one story occurs in it (Evil-wit and Honest-wit, I 13) which teaches, and is obviously meant to teach, the distinctly non-Machiavellian lesson that "honesty is the best policy." (The point of this story was not understood by Hertel. See my paper

on it. *JAOS* 40 271 ff) It is imbedded in a long moral lecture read by the virtuous jackal Karataka to the tricky Damanaka, in which he reproves him for his villainy, assuring him that he will live to repent it, in spite of its apparent success I fail to see how Hertel can reconcile the obvious intention of this long passage (including this story) with his opinion that political trickery is the exclusive doctrine taught in the Pañcatantra

Accordingly I must emphatically reject this criterion which Hertel alleges for judging the originality of stories It is utterly wrong to say that they must be suspected of being secondary if they have no apparent political lesson As Winternitz says (*DLZ* 1910, Sp 2762), while there "can be no doubt that the work was intended from the start to be a Nītiśāstra, that is a 'textbook' of political and practical wisdom," nevertheless the word 'textbook' must be "taken *cum grano salis*" —What I believe to be the only safe grounds for judging the originality of stories have been set forth above, p 55 ff , especially 58 ff

Story-contents of the original stories included by me but excluded or doubted by Hertel —The following table will show the stories which I believe the original contained, and at the same time the occurrences of each story in the older extant versions There is practically no doubt, in my opinion, that the list includes exactly the stories of the original, neither more nor less Comparing the list with Hertel s list (Tantr Einl p 128 ff), we find that my list includes all of the stories which Hertel then attributed to the original, but that it also includes five which he there labels doubtful, and three which he there declares to be certainly unoriginal Since that time he has removed one story (our III 9, Mouse-Maiden) from the doubtful to the certain column, and one story (V 2, Barber who killed the Monks) from the unoriginal to the doubtful column (*Pañc* p 17) His only objection to the story of the Mouse-Maiden was that he could see no political lesson in it, and he now recognizes that it has a political lesson To my mind it is certainly original, whether it has a political lesson or not The stories of my list which he still considers doubtful are I 3, III 1, IV 1, V 1, and V 2 Those which he still considers certainly unoriginal are II 4 and III 6.

As to I 3, the Three self-caused Mishaps, Hertel suspects it of being unoriginal because (1) It is omitted in So and Kṣ (2) In

the third anecdote contained in it, virtue and not deceit triumphs in the end. (3) In the Tantrākhyāyika form of the story he finds a number of literary harshnesses.—I have indicated above that the omission of a story in one stream of tradition seems to me much easier to explain than its independent insertion in exactly the same place in three streams (p. 58). The triumph of virtue is, in my opinion, no reason for suspecting the story. The literary harshnesses (one of the chief of which is dealt with above p. 178), in so far as they are real, pertain to Tantrākhyāyika alone, and prove only that the Tantrākhyāyika is an imperfect representative of the original Pañcatantra, and that it is in these cases excelled by the other versions.

Against III 1, the Ass in the Panther's Skin, Hertel urges the fact that it is lacking in Pahlavi and transposed in Simplicior (neither of which facts is of serious weight; Spl transposes many of the stories of Book III), and also that the insertion of the story seems to him awkward, since it postpones the answer to the crow-king's inquiry as to how the enmity between the crows and the owls originated. This is a purely subjective opinion, which seems to me to have no weight. I think Hertel's objection is based solely on western esthetic principles. To Hindu story-tellers there is nothing objectionable in the insertion of anecdotes illustrative of general principles involved, even when they delay the course of the main story. The story here concerned is very apposite to the situation where it occurs; it is an illustration of *vāgdosa*, coming to grief thru speaking. *Cf.* on II 4 below.

IV 1, the Ass without Heart and Ears, is markt doubtful by Hertel, but he nevertheless states that he considers it "probably original." Apparently his only reason for questioning it is that the catch-verse is not included in the Nepalese verse-text. This is, to my mind, no reason at all.

V 1, Brahman builds Air-castles, is questioned by Hertel solely because it is lacking in Somadeva. As I have repeatedly said, such grounds seem to me of no weight.

V 2, the Barber who killed the Monks, was formerly considered "certainly unoriginal" by Hertel, solely because it is lacking in Somadeva and Pahlavi. This again seems to me an insufficient reason for questioning a story found in T, Jn, Ks, SP, N, and H, that is in at least two independent streams of

tradition and in the same place in all but Jn (which have totally rearranged Book V) and H (which has no Book V and includes the stories thereof in the earlier books) Now, in *Pañc* p 18, Hertel inclines to think that this story may have been original after all, on the ground that it is the last story of the whole work, and its omission might have been due to a fragmentary condition of the mss used by So and Pa

Of the two stories in my list which Hertel still considers certainly unoriginal, one, III 6, Old Man, Young Wife, and Thief, has been discust at length above, p 63, note 6, where I have tried to show the fallacy of Hertel's reasoning The other is II 4, Deer s Former Captivity, which is found only in T, SP, N, Pn, and Ks It is, as pointed out above (p 26 n 21), really an incident in the frame-story of Book II, as such it was omitted in at least one late version based on Pūrnabhadra, evidently because the redactor considered it unessential to the main story and did not recognize it as an independent story (this is Hertel's own explanation, *Pañc* p 117) For this same reason it was omitted by Somadeva, quite in keeping with his usual custom, and this may be the reason for its omission in Pahlavi, which in any case omits several stories that were (in my opinion) certainly original That the deer is saved in this anecdote 'not by cleverness but by the compassion of another ' is no argument to my mind, and need not be one even to Hertel if he will but consider the "story ' a part of the frame, for he seems to admit (curiously, and inconsistently, I think) that the frame may contain incidents that are not exclusively ' tricky ' in their 'morals " (*ZDMG* 69 114, where he seems to imply that the "story" II 1 need not have a tricky moral, since it was regarded by the author as part of the frame) The fact that the story is told by the deer before he has been freed from his bonds is no argument against the originality For one thing, the mouse was freeing the deer while the deer was telling the story, so that it occasioned no delay (*cf* II § 229, where we find that the mouse has already cut the bonds) Secondly, compare the similar long conversation, with several inserted stories, between the crow-king and his ministers at the beginning of Book III; altho they were fully conscious of the need for haste (III § 8, *ahīnakālam upāyaś cintyatām*, III § 116, after endless unnecessary talk, *yāvat te*

'smān prati sammipātāya nehāgacchanti, tāvad upāyas cintyatām) In other words (*cf* also on III 1 above) Hindu story-tellers are not troubled by such a dramatic fault as this—the insertion of stories and other long-winded conversations at times when there is need for immediate action (Such dramatic unrealities can be found in modern operas especially The reason for them is found in the conflict of motives, the Hindu story-books are not *merely* story-books but also political textbooks, and they take the time to inculcate political lessons on occasions where such lessons would be out of place in real life Similarly modern operas are not merely *dramatic* compositions but also *musical* ones, and the composers put in musical pieces that are dramatically ridiculous)—The style of the first part of this story in Tantrākhyāyika is rightly called "miserable by Hertel But this again is a fault of T alone, and only shows the imperfection of T as a Pañcatantra version SP and Pn begin with a practically identical sentence, which in T occurs half way down the first page The first half page in T is a wholly secondary insertion, and T contains other insertions later on in the story, as shown by the agreement of SP and Pn (See my Crit App for proof of this.) It is very clear that Pūrnabhadra did not get the story from the Tantrākhyāyika in its present form While it is possible that he got it from an older form of T, which lackt the awkward expansions found in all our T mss it seems to me fully as likely that he got it from his unknown third source, the reality of which is abundantly proved by other passages and is fully recognized by Hertel This would account for the striking agreements between Pn and SP, especially at the beginning of the story, but also at various other points in it Probably, therefore, we find traces of this story in *three* independent streams of Pañcatantra tradition, but certainly in *two*, which is quite enuf, on the principles laid down above, p 58 f, to establish its originality

Conspectus of Stories of the Original

Note —For the abbreviations of names of versions in these tables see the introduction to Volume I In the H column the first reference is to Peterson's edition, the second, in parentheses, to Muller's, so in the Ks column, references are to ŚP and (in parentheses) to Mańkowski The numbering of the books of the Arabic follows Wolff In the Ar column x indicates that *some* Arabic version contains a correspondence

Reconstruction	T	SP	N	H	Spl	Pn	So	Kş	Sy	Ar	Reconstruction
Kathāmukha	KM	KM	KM	KM	KM	KM					Kathāmukha
Book I	I	I	II	II	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
Frame Lion and Bull .	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame
1 Ape and Wedge	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2 Jackal and Drum . .	2	2	2		2	2	2	2	(Lacuna)	2	2
3 a Monk and Swindler	3 a	3 a	3 a		4 a	4 a			3 a	3 a	3 a
3 b Rams and Jackal .. .	3 b	3 b	3 c		4 b	4 b			3 b	3 b	3 b
3 c Cuckold Weaver and Bawd	3 c	3 c	3 c	5 b	4 c	4 c			3 d	3 d	3 c
4 Crows and Serpent .	4	4	4	7	6	5		3	4	4	4
5 Heron and Crab .	5	5	5	IV 6	7	6	3	4	5	5	5
6 Lion and Hare	6	6	6	8	8	7	4	5	6	6	6
7 Louse and Flea	7	7	7		9	10	5	6	8	8	7
8. Lion's Retainers and Camel	9	8	8	IV 9 (10)	11	13	6	8	9	9	8
9. Strandbirds and Sea	10	9	9	9	12	15	7	9	10	10	9
10 Geese and Tortoise	11	10	10	IV 1	13	16	8	10	11	11	10
11 Forethot, Ready-wit, and Come-what-will	12	11	11	IV 2	14	17	9	11	7	7	11
12 Ape, Glow-worm and Bird	14	13	13		17	25	10	13	12	12	12
13. Evil-Wit and Honest-Wit ..	15	14	14		19	26	11	14	13	13	13
14 Herons, Snake and Mongoose	16	15	15	IV 4	20	27	12	15	14	14	14
15 Iron-eating Mice . . .	17	16	16	[illegible]	21	28	13	16	15	15	15
Book II	II	II	I	I	II	II	II	II	II	III	II
Frame Dove, Crow, Mouse, Tortoise, and Deer .	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame

1 Mouse and Two Monks	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
2 Husht for Husht Sesame	2	2	2		2	5	2	2	2	2	2
3 Too Greedy Jackal	3	3	3	6	3	4	3	3	3	3	3
4 Deer's Former Captivity	5	4	4			9		4			4
Book III	III	III	III		III	III	III	III	VI	IV	III
Frame Crows and Owls	Frame	Frame	Frame		Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame
1 Ass in Panther's Skin	1	1	1	III 2	IV 5	IV 7	1	1			1
2 Birds elect King	2	2	2		(Frame)†	1	2	2 ††	1	1	2
3 Elephant, Hares and Moon	3	3	3	III 3	1	2	3	3 (2)	2	2	3
4 Cat, Partridge and Hare	4	4	4		2	3	4	4 (3)	3	3	4
5 Brahman and Rogues	5	5	5	IV 8 (9)	3	4	5	5 (4)	4	4	5
6 Old Man, Young Wife and Thief	* 6	6	6		IV 10	9	6	6 (5)	5	5	6
7 Brahman, Thief and Ogre	6	7	7			10	7	7 (6)	6	6	7
8 Cuckold Carpenter	8	8	8	III 5 (6)	IV 7	12	8	8 (7)	7	7	8
9 Mouse Maiden	9	9	9		IV 8	13	9	9 (8)	8	8	9
10 Frogs ride Serpent	10	10	10	IV 10 (11)		16	10	10 (9)	9	9	10
Book IV	IV	IV	IV		IV	IV	IV	IV	III	V	IV
Frame Ape and Crocodile	Frame	Frame	Frame		Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame
1 Ass without Heart and Ears	2	1			2	2	1	2	1	1	1
Book V	V	V	V		V	V	V	V	IV	VI	V
Frame Brahman and Mongoose	Frame	Frame	Frame	IV 11 (12)	2	1	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame
1 Brahman who built Air-castles	1	1	1	[IV 7]	9	7		1	1	1	1
2 Barber who killed the Monks	2	2	2	III 8 (9)	1 (Frame)	Frame		2			2

* Not counted as separate story in Kielhorn-Buhler but embodied just as in the other versions
† Similar theme, but not verbally close †† Mank treats this as part of frame

Conspectus of Text-Units of the Original

Black-faced (Clarendon) type indicates departure from the *order* assumed for the original (See also p 189, note)

Reconstruction	T	SP	N	H	Spl	Pn	So	Ks	Sy	Ar
Kathāmukha	KM	KM	KM	KM	KM	KM				
vs 1	2	vs 1	1							
(vs 2)	3				1	1				
1	A 1a 1	7		2 1 (3 3)	1 5	1 4				
2	A 1a 2	7		2 1 (3 3)	1 6	1 4				
3	A 1a 4	8		2 8 (4 1)	1 8	1 6				
(4)	A 1a 5	9		.	1 10	1 8				
vs 3	.	vs 4	3	12 (12)	4	3				
vs 4	.	vs 6	5	... .	3					
5	A 1a 6	vs 9	7	4 7 (10 5)	1 21	1 15				
(6)	A 1a 6				2 3	1 15				
7	A 1b 1	26		4 17 (11 4)	2 14	1 24				
(8)	A 1b 2				2 16	2 1				
(9)	A 1b 3				2 16	2 2				
10	A 1b 4	26		4 18 (11 5)	2 18	2 3				
11	A 2 1	27		4 18 (11 5)	2 19	2 4				
12	A 2 3	27		5 4 (12 1)	2 20	2 5				
13	A 2 5	28		5 11 (13 2)	2 22	2 11				
14	A 2 7	29, vs 10	8		3 1	2 12				
Colophon	4 21				3 8	2 19				
Book I	I	I	II	II	I	I	I	I	I	I
1	A 3	33		46 2 (1 3)	4 1	3 1				
vs 1	1	SPα 1	1	1 (1)	1	1				(S h lthces) p 18

2	A 4 1	36		46 6	(1 7)	4 5	3 4				
3	A 4 2	37		46 7	(1 7)	4 5	3 4	**11 d**	256 (1)		p 1 13
4	A 4 2	37		46 7	(1 8)	4 6	3 8	11 cd	257 (2) ab		1 13
5	A 4 3	38		46 8	(1 9)	4 7	3 9	12 a			1 18
vs 2	2	2		8	(8)						1 22
6	A 5 1	41	after 1				3 12				1 22
7	A 5 2	42		47 10	(2 13)		**3.10,** 3 13				1 31
8	A 5 3	43		47 13	(3 2)		3 14				
vs 3	3	3	2				2			1	x
9	A 6 1	48		48 1	(3 9)	6 9	3 22	12 ab	257 (2) c	A 1 1	x
10	A 6 2	48		48 1	(3 9)	6 10	3 25			A 1 4	x
11	A 6 2	49		48 6	(4 1)	6 11	3 26	12 cd, 13	257 (2) d, 258 (3)	A 1 6	x
12	A 6 4	50		48 7	(4 2)	6 13	4 4	14 ab		A 1 8	x
13	A 6 5	51		48 13	(4 7)	6 15	4 7	14 cd	259 (4) ab	A 1 10	x
14	A 6 6	51				6 21	4 10		**259 (4) a**	A 1 11	x
(15)	A 6 8					7 1	4 12				
16	A 6 9	54		48 13	(4 9)	7 2	4 14	15, 16 a	259 (4) cd	A 1 13	x
17	A 6 10	54		48 14	(4 10)	7 4	4 15	16 bcd, 17	cf **258(3)d** 260(5)	A 1 15	x
18	A 7 1 A 8 end	56		48 19	(5 5)	7 12	4 18, **5 1**	18	261 (6) bcd	A 2 1	x
vs 4	**4**						**5**			A 2 3	x
vs 5		5	3	16	(19)		**6**	cf 18 d?		cf A 2 3?	?
19	A 7 1	64		49 1	(5 9)	7 12	4 18	20 ab	**261 (6) a**		
20	A 7 2	64		49 2	(5 10)	7 13	4 19	20 cd	262 (7)	A 2 5	x
21	A 7 2	65		49 3	(5 11)	7 14	4 19	21—23	263 (8)	**A 2.6** A 2 5	x
(22)	A 8 1					7 15	4 21				
23	A 9 1	67		49 4	(5 13)	7 17	5 9	**19**	264 (9) ab	A 3 1	x
24	A 9 1	67		49 5	(5 14)	7 18	5 10	24, 25	264 (9) cd, 266 (11)	A 3 5	x
25	A 9 3	69		50 13	(7 13)	7 22	5 12	26 ab	267 (12)	A 3 7	x
vs 6	5	7	4	26	(30)	21	8	26 cd	268 (13)	2	x

Reconstruction I	T I	SP I	N II	H II	Spl I	Pn I	So I	Ks I	Sy I	A1 I
26	A 10	72		50 18 (8 3)	8 2	5 15			A 4	x
Story I									Story	
27	7 13	73		50 19 (8 3)	8 6	5 17	27	269 (14) a b	I 1	x
28	7 13				8 7	5 18	28 a, d	269 (14) d	I. 4	x
29	7 15	73		50 20 (8 5)	8 9	5 21	28	269 (14) c	I 2	x
30	7 15, 17	74		50 21 (8 6)	8 8, 11	5 20,22	29 a	270 (15)	I. 2	x
31	7 18	75		50 22 (8 7)	8 12	5 24	29, 30	271 (16)	I 5	x
32	7 20	75		51 2 (8 10)	8 14	5 26	31	272 (17)	4 1	x
End of Story I										
33	A 11 1	78		51 4 (8 11)	8 15	6 1	32 a b			
34	A 11 1	78		52 18 (10, bottom)	8 16	6 1	[32 c d]		A 3 9	x
35	A 11 2	78		52 19 (11 1)	8 17	6 2	33, 34 a b		A 5	x
vs 7	6	8	5	31 (35)	22	9	cf 34 a b		3	x
vs 8		9	6	32 (37)	23	10	cf 34 b			
vs 9	7	10	7	36 (41)		12	cf 36		4	x
vs 10	8	11	8	37 (42)		13			5	x
vs 11	9	12								
vs 12	10	13	9	38 (43)	24				6	x
vs 13	11	14	10		25	14				
vs 14	12	15	11	39 (45)		15			7	x
(vs 15)	. .	16				16				
36	A 12	105		54 15 (13 8)	10 1	6 32			A 6	x
37	A 12	105		54 16 (13 9)	10 8	6 32			A 6, end	?
vs 16	13	17	12	40 (46)		18			8, part 2	x
vs 17	15	18	13	41 (47)		19			9	x
38	A 13 1	111		55 3 (14 4)					A 7 1	x
39	A 13 1	111		55 4 (14 5)	11 8	7 9			A 7 3	x

40	A 13 1	111		55 4 (14 5)	11,8	7 9			A 7 4	x
41	A 13 2	112		55 5 (14 7)	11 11	7 10			A 7 8	x
vs 18	16	19	14	43 (49)	43	20			10	x
42	A 14 1	116		55 13 (14, bottom)	11 20	7 18			**A 7.5**	x
43	A 14.1	116		55 17 (15 3)	11 21	7 18	34 c d, 35 a b		A 8 1	x
44	A 14 2	116		55 20 (15 6)	11 22	7 19	35 c d		A 8 4	x
vs 19	17	20	15			22			11	x
45	A 15	120		56 10 (15, bottom)		7 24	cf 35 a, 37		cf 6 7, A 9	x
46	A 15	120		56 11 (16 1)		7 24			A 9, end	x
vs 20	18	21	16	51 (58)	**35**	28		**280 (25) c d**	**12**	x
vs 21	19	22	17		**36**	29			13	x
47	A 16	128		56 20 (16 9)	13 10	9 11			A 11 a, 11 b 1	x
vs 22	20	23			60	46				
vs 23	21	27	18	55 (62)	61	47			A 11 b 3, vs 15	x
48	A 17	142		57 15 (17 10)	13 18	cf **7.25**				
vs 24	22	28	19	**56 (63)**	63	**23**				
vs 25	23	29	20							
vs 26	24	30	21	58 (65)		48			A 12 1 ?	?
49	A 18	134			13 22	9 23	38		A 12 4, A 13	x
(vs 27)	26				65	50				
50	A 19	135			14 9	9 30	39 a b		A 13 8	x
vs 28	27								**17**	x
vs 29	28	25	22	**47** (54)	68	53	39 b c d		**A 11 b.1**	x
51	A 20	150		58 1 (18 3)	14 16	10 11	40 a b		A 15	x
52	A 21 1	151		58 3 (18 4)	14 17	10 15	40 c d	273 (18) a b c	A 16 1	x
53	A 21 1	151		58 3 (18 5)	14 18	10 16			A 16 1	x
54	A 21 3	152		58 4 (18 6)	14 20	10 18	41 a b		.	x
55	A 21 4	152		58 4 (18 7)	14 21	10 18	41 c		A 16 5	x
56	A 21 5	152		58 5 (18 7)	14 22	10 19			A 16 5	x

Reconstruction I	T 1	SP I	N II	H II	Spl I	Pn I	So I	Ks I	Sy I	A_1 I
57	A 21 5	152		58 5 (18 7)	14 23	10 20	41 d, 44 ?	273 (18) c d ?	A 16 6	x
58	A 21 6	153		58 7 (18 10)	15 1	10 21			A 16 7	x
vs 30	30	31	23	59 (66)	71	59			19	x
vs 31	31	32	24	61 (67)					20, 35	x
vs 32	32								36	x
vs 33	33	cf 159		cf 58 bottom (19 3)					A 17, vs 21	x
vs 34	34	33	25						22	x
59	A 22	159		58 bottom (19 3)					A 18	x
vs 35	35	34		64 (71)	72	60			23	x
vs 36	36	35	26	65 (72)	75	63			24	x
vs 37	37	37	27	66 (74)		64				?
vs 38	38				74	62				?
60	A 23				15 7	10.27	42 a b			
vs 39	39				76	65			25	x
(vs 40)				62 (69)	78	66				.
vs 41	40					328			27	x
vs 42	41								28	x
vs 43	42								29	x
(61)	A 24					11 18				
vs 44	43	38	28	67 (75)	110	69, 84			26	x
62	A 25	175		Hp, 59 n 7 Hm —	17 15	11 21			A 19	x
vs 45	44	40	29	Hp, 59 n 7 Hm —						
vs 46	45								32	x
vs 47	46				95	71	42 c d, 43		34	x
vs 48	47				96				30	x
vs 49	48	42	30	68 (76)	97	72				
vs 50	49	43	31	69 (77)						

63	A 26 1	187		60 15 (21 2)	18 4	12 1	cf **46 c**		cf A 21 ?	x
64	A 26 1	187		60 17 (21 4)	18 5	12 1	45		A 22 1	x
65	A 26 2	cf **188**		**60.16 (21.4)**	18 6	12 2	46			
66	A 26 2	188		60 17 (21 5)	18 15	12 3	47, 48 a b		A 22 3	x
67	A 26 3				18 16	12 3			A 22 5	x
68	A 26 3				18 17	12 4				
69	A 26 4	188		60 18 (21 6)	18 22	12 10	48 c d, 49 a b c		A 22 9	x
(70)	A 26 5				19 3	12 14				
71	A 26 6	189		60 20 (21 8)	19 4	12 15	49 d, 50—52	274 (19) a b	A 22 13	x
72	A 26 8	191		**64.1 (26.7)**	19 7	12 17	53 a b		p 12 3	x
vs 51	50	44	32		102	76	54			36 b
73	A 27 1				19 11	12 21	**53 c d**			cf 12 3
74	A 27 1	194			19 11, 20 4	12 24, 13 3	55	274 (19) c d		
vs 52	51	45	33		108	82	56 a b	275 (20)		after vs 36 b
75	A 28	197			20 8	13 6				12 17
Story II										
76	14 20	198			20 12	13 8	56 c d, 57 a b			12 20
77	14 21	198			20 13	13 9	57 b c			12 23
78	14 21	199			20 14	13 10	57 d			
79	15 1	200			20 20	13 13	57 d, 58 a b	cf 275 (20) b		12 24
80	15 1					13 14	58 c d			
81	15 2	200			**20.13**	13 15	59 a b c, 60			**12 21**
82	15 4	201			20 21	13 16	**59 c d**			12 25
(83)	15 4				20 22	13 17				
84	15 5	201			20 22	13 18	61 a	275 (20) a		12 26
85	15 5	201			21 1	13 20	61 b c	275 (20) c d		12 27
86	15 8				21 3	13 22	cf 61 c d			12 28
87	15 9	202			21 3	13 22	61 c d			12 29

Reconstruction I	T I	SP I	N II	H II	Spl I	Pn I	So I	Ks I	Sy I	Ai I
End of Story II										
88	A 29 1	203			21 4	14 5	62 a b			12 32
89	A 29 1	203			21 11	14 10	62 c d			12 34
90	A 29 2	(203, n)			21 13	14 11	63 a b c			13 1
91		203			21 21	14 18	63 d, 64 a b	276 (21) a b		13 2
92	A 30 1	.			21 21	14 18				13 4
(93)	A 30 1				21 23	14 20				?
94	A 30 2				22 1, 6	14 21,24				13 7
95	A 30 7				22 5, 12	14 24,28				13 37
96	A 31 1	204			22 13,22	14 28, 15 5	64 cd, 65 abc	276 (21) c		14 1
97	A 31 2				22 22	15 5				14 2
98		204		cf 63 20 (26 4)	22 23	15 6	cf 65 c			14 6
99	A 31 3	204		63 20 (26 4)	23 1	15 7	65 d			14 6
100	A 31 3				23 3	15 8				14 9
101	A 31.4				23 12	15 15			14 14	x
vs 53	52	46		78 (88)	122	94			37	x
(vs 54)	53				123					
102	A 32 1	208			23 23	15 20	cf 66, 67		A 23 1	x
103	A 32 2	208			24 1	15 21	66, 67		A 23 5	x
104	A 32 3	209			24 7	15 23	68 c d	276 (21) d	A 23 6	x
105	A 32 4				24 8	15 23	68 a b		A 23 7	x
106	A 32 4				24 10	15 25			A 23 12	x
107	A 32 5				24 11	15 25			A 23 13	x
108	A 32 6				24 11	15 26	68 b	277 (22)	A 23 13	x
109	A 32 8				24 13	15 28	68 d	278 (23) a b	A 23 15	x
110	A 32 8	cf 209			24 14	15 29	69 a	cf 278 (23) c d	A 23 17	x
111	A 32 10	209		65 3 (27 12)	24 17, 31 7	15 31 21 13	69 b c d, 70	278 (23) c d	A 23 18	x

(112)					31 9	21 14	71 a	279 (24) a		
113	A 32.11				31.9	21 15	71 b c	279 (24) a b	A 23 20	x
114	A 32 12				31 11	21 16			A 23 21	x
115	A 32 12				31 12	21 17			A 23 22	x
116	A 32 13				31 13	21 18	71 c d, 72 a	279 (24) c d	A23 24, A24 1	x
(117)	A 33				31 17	21 22				
118	A 34 1	211		{65 3, 67 bottom} {(27 13, 32 3)}	31 19	21 24	72 a b c	280 (25) a b	A 24 1	x
119	A 34 1				31 23	21 24	**74 c d**		A 24 3	x
120	A 34 4	**211**		**67 bottom (32 4)**	32 2	21 26	72 c d	cf **281 (26) b**	**A 24.2**	x
121	A 35 1	212		67 bottom (32 4)	32 3, 33 5	21 28, 22 16	**74 a b**	281 (26)	A 25 1	x
122	A 35 2	213		68 1 (32 6)	33 5, 15	22 16, 25	73, 74, 75 a b	282 (27)	A 25 3	x
vs 55	54	47	34		162	122			A 25 8	x
123	A 36	217			33 20	22 29			A 25 9	x
Story IIIa										
124	17 19	218			34 2	23 2			15 25	x
125	17 19	218			34 3	23 3			15 25	x
(126)	17 20				34 4	23 4				
127	18 1	219			34 9 16, 35 20	23 9, 17, 25 3			15 26	x
128	18 3	220			36 4	25 11			15 30	x
129	18 4	220			36 4	25 12				
Story IIIb										
130	18 6	222			36 11	25 19			15 35	x
131	18 6	222			36 12	25 20			15 36	x
132	18 9	225				26 4				
End of Story IIIb										
133	18 9	225			36 18	26 5			**15 31**	x
(134)	18 11				36 19	26 7			**15.32**	x
135	18 11	226			36 20	26 8				

Reconstruction I	T I	SP I	N II	H II	Spl I	Pn I	So I	Ks I	Sy I	Ar I
End of Story III a—Story III c										
136	18 14	226			36 23	26 12			15 33, 16 6	
137	18 15	227			37 2	26 14			16 25	λ
138	18 16	227		69 8 (34 10)					16 26	x
139	19 1	228			37 15, 38 7	27 8, 27 19			16 30	λ
140	19 2	229			38 8	27 20			17 1	λ
141	19 3	229			38 10	27 22				
142	19 5	230		69 9 (34 12)	38 11, 22	27 23, 28 10			17 2	x
143	19 9	230		69 10 (34 13)	39 2	28 14			17 6	λ
144	19 9	231		69 12 (35 4)	39 4, 18	28 16, 29 6			17 8	λ
145	19 10	232		69 13 (35 5)	39 22	29 8			17 10	x
146	19 11	232		69 14 (35 6)	40 2	29 11			17 14	x
147	19 12	233		69 14 (35 7)	40 2	29 12			17 15	\
148	19 14	233		— (35 9)	40 5	29 15				
149	19 14	234		69 16 (35 10)	40 7	29 18			17 20	λ
150	19 16	234		69 16 (35 11)	40 10	29 21			17 20	λ
151	19 17				40 11	cf 30 1			17.23	x
152	20 1	235		69 17 (35 12)		30 1			17 22	λ
153	20 1	236			40 12					
154	20 2	236		69.22 (36 3)	40 14	30 1			17 26	λ
155	20 3	237		69 23 (36 5)	40 15	30 3			17 27	x
156	20 5	238		70.6 (36.11)	41 2	30 12			17 32	x
157	20 6	239		70.7 (36 13)	41 4	30 14			17 34	\
158	20 7	239			40.6, 41 5	29.16, 30 16			17 24	λ
159	20 9	240		69 18 (35 12)	43 5	32 1			17 35	λ
160	20 10	241		69 18 (35 14)	43 7	32 4			17 38	λ
161	20 11	241		69.19 (35 14)	43 9	32 6			17 39	x

162	20.11	242		69 19 (35 15)	43 10	32 7			18 1	x
163	20 12	243		69 20 (35 15)	43 12	32 9			18 2	x
164	20 13	243		69 20 (36 1)	43 13	32 10			18 3	x
165	20 15	244		69 21 (36 2)	43 14	32 11			18 4	x
166	20 15	cf 245		69 21 (36 3)	43 15	32 14			18 5	x
167	20 16	245			43 16	32 14			18 6	x
168	20 17	245			43 19	32 16			18 7	x
169	20 19	246			44 12	33 4			18 9	x
170	21 1	246		68.8 (32.12)	44 13	33 6			18 10	x
171	21 2	247		68.9 (32 14)	44 14	33 7				
vs 56	55	48				155			38	x
172	21 7	251			44 16	33 11			18 20	x
End of Story III c										
173	A 37 1	253			44 23	33 19				
174	A 37 1	253			51 10	33 19			A 27 3	x
175	A 37 1	254			51 10	33 20			A 27 6	x
vs 57	56	49	35						39, part 2	x
176	A 38	257		70 21 (37 13)	51 11	33 21	75 c d, 76 a b	283 (28) b	A 28	x
vs 58	57					157				x
177	A 39					33 25			A 29	x
178	A 39					33 25				
vs 59	58					158				
179	A 40a 1					34 3				
180	A 40a 1					34 3				
181	A 40a 1					34 5			A 30 1	x
(182)	A 40a 2					34 5				
183	A 40a 3					34 6			A 30 6	x
184	A 40a 4					34 8			A 30 9	x
185	A 40a 5					34 9			A 30 10	x

Reconstruction I	T I	SP I	N II	H II	Spl I	Pn I	So I	Ks I	Sy I	Ai I
186	A 40 a 6					34 11			A 30 13	x
187	A 40 a 8					34 14			A 30.18	x
188	A 40 a 10					34 16			A 30 16	x
189	A 40 b 1	cf 257			cf 51 11	34 20	cf 75 c d, 76 a b	cf 283 (28) b	A 30 22	x
190	A 40 b 1	257		72 4 (39 bottom)	51 15	34 24	76 c d, 77 a b		A 30 24	x
191	A 40 b 2	258		72 5 (40 2)	51 16	34.24	77 c d	283 (28) a	A 30 28	x
vs 60	59	50	36	106 (120)	207	149	78 a b	283 (28) c d, 284 (29) a b	40	x
192	A 41	261		72 10 (40 5)	51 20	34 28			A 31	x
Story IV										
193	22 15	262		72 11 (40 5)	52 2	35 2		cf 284 (29) d	20 13	x
194	22 16	262		72 11 (40 6)	52 2	35 3		284 c d e (29 c d, 30 a)	20 13	x
195	22 17	263			52 4	35 4, 36 6		284 e f, 285 a b (30 a b c d)	20 16	x
196	22 18	264			52 5	36 7		285 b c d (30 d 31 a b	20 19	x
vs 61	60	51	37	IV 15 (IV 14)	210	165	78 c d	285 d (31 c)	41	x
197	23 3	267			52 18	36 17			20 26	x
Story V										
198	23 4	268		135 2 (118 9)	52 20	36 19	79, 80 a		20 29	x
199	23 4	268		135 3 (118 10)	53 1	36 20	80 a	286 a (31 c)	20 32	x
200	23 5	269		135 3 (118 11)	53 2	36 22			20 33	x
201	23 6	269		135 4 (118 12)	53 3	36 23			20 33	x
202	23 7	270		135 5 (118 12)	53 5	37 1	80 a b	286 b (31 d)	20 34	x
(203)	23 9				53 7	37 5				
204	23 9	cf 270		cf 135 5 (118 13)	53 8	37 6	80 c d	286 c (32 a)	21 1	x
205	23 10	270		135 5 (118 13)	53.9	37 7	81 a b	286 c d (32 a b)	21 2	x
206	23 12	271		135 7 (118 14)		37 9		287 a b (32 c d)	21 6	x
207	23 13	271		135 8 (118 15)	54 5	37 10		cf 287 c (33 a)	21 8	x
208	23.13	272		135 13 (119 5)	54 7	37 12		287 c (33 a)	21 10	x

209	23 14	273		135 13 (119 5)	54 8, 10	37 14	81 cd, 82	287 d (33 b)	21 13	x
210	23 16	274		135 14 (119 7)	54 11	37 17	83	288 a (33 c)	21 18	x
211	23 17	274		135 15 (119 7)	54 12	37 22	84	288 a b (33 c d)	21 19	x
212	24 1	276		135 16 (119 8)	54 16	38 3	85, 86		21 21	x
213	24 1	277		135 16 (119 8)	54 16	38 4	**86 d**		21 22	✓
214	24 2	277		135 16 (119 9)	54 18	38 5	87 a b	288 c (34 a)		
215	24 4	278		135 17 (119 9)	54 20	38 7	87 b c d		21 23	✓
216	24 6	278		135 18 (119 10)	54 21	38 9, 12	88 a b		21 25	✓
217	24 6	278		135 18 (119 11)		38 13, 20	88 c d		21 26	x
vs 62	61	52	38	IV 18 (—)					42	x
218	24 11	284		136 10 (119 12)	55 3	39 3	89	288 d (34 b)	21 32	x
219	24 12				55 5	39 7	90 a		21 34	x
220	24 13				55 5	39 8	90 a			
221	24 14				55 8	39 9	90 b c d		21 35	x
End of Story V										
222	24 16	286			55 12	39 14			21 37	x
223	24 16	286		73 18 (42 8)	55 14	39 15				
224	24 17	287		73 18 (42 9)	55 15	39 16		289 a b (34 c d)	22 1	x
225	24 18	288			55 17	39 18			22 6	✓
(226)	24 18									
227	25 1	cf 287		cf 73 18 (42 9)	55 17	39 19		289 b (34 d)	22 8	x
228	25 1	cf 287		73 20 (42 11)	55 18	39 19		cf 289 c d (35 a b)	22 8	✓
229	25 3	288		73 21 (42 12)	55 21	39 22		289 cd, 290abc (35, 36a)	22 10	x
230	25 4			73 21 (42 13)	55 22	39 23		290 c d (36 a b)	22 12	x
231	25 6			74 1 (—)	56 1	40 1		**291 b (36 d)**	22 13	✓
232	25 7	288		74 1 (42 14)	56 2	40 3		291 a b (36 c d)	22 14	✓
(233)	25 7				56 3	40 3		291 c d (37 a b)		
End of Story IV										
234	A 42	289		74 2 (42 14)	56 4	40 6				

Reconstruction I	T I	SP I	N II	H II	Spl I	Pn I	So I	Ks I	Sy I	A1 I
235	A 42	289			56 6	40 11		292 a b (37 c d)	A 32	x
vs 63	62	54	39	108 (122)	214	172	91	292 c d (38 a b)	43	x
236	A 43	292			56 9	40 14			A 33	x
Story VI										
237	25 13	293		73 2 (41 3)	56 11	40 16	92 a	293 a, c (38c, 39 a)	22 26	x
238	25 13	293		73 2 (41 4)	56 11	40 16	92 b c d	293 a b (38 c d)	22 27	x
239	25 14	293		73 3 (41 5)	56 12	40 18	93 a b	293 c d (39 a b)	22 29	x
240	25.15	294		73 4 (41.6)	56 14	40 20, 41.4	94 a b	294 a b (39 c d)	22 29	x
241	25 17	.			56.17	41.6	cf 94 b		cf 22 29	x
242	25 18	294		73 4 (41 6)	56 15	41 4	93 c d	294 c d (40 a b)	22 32	x
243	26 1	295		73 5 (41 8)	57 20	41 24	94 c d, 95 a b	295 (40 c d, 41 a b)	22 33	x
244	26 1	296		73 6 (41 9)	58 3	42 7	95 c d	296 a b (41 c d)	22 35	x
245	26 1	297		73 7 (41 10)	58 3	42 7	96 a b	296 b c (41 d, 42 a)	22 35	x
246	26 2	297					97 a			
247	26 3	297		vs 109 (vs 123)	58.4	42 8	96 c d, 97 a b	296 c d (42 a b)	cf 22 35	x
248	26 4	299		73 10 (41 13)	58 4, 8	42 13	97 c d	297 a, c (42c, 43 a)	23 1	x
249	26 4	299		73 10 (41 13)	58 9, 12	42 15, 19	98 a b	297b, d, 298a (42d, 43bc)	23 3	x
250	26 6	300		73 11 (41 14)	58 13	42 19	98 c d, 99 a b	298 b (43 d)	23 6	x
251	26 7	300		73 11 (41 14)	58 15	42 22	99 c d, 100 a b			
252	26 8	301		73 12 (41 15)	58 17	43 1	100 c d	298 c d (44 a b)	23 6	x
253	26 8	301		73 13 (42 2)	59 5, 61 1	43 12, 44 23	101, 102 a b	299 (44 c d, 45 a b)	23 12	x
254	26 13	303		73 14 (42 3)	61 1, 5	44 23, 45 4	102 b c d, 103 a b c	300 (45 c d, 46 a b)	23 13	x
255	26 15	304		73 16 (42 6)	61 6	45 4	103 c d, 104, 105	301 a b c d (46 c d, 47 a b)	23 16	x
256					61 9	45 8	106			x
End of Story VI										
257	A 44 1	306		73 17 (42 7)	61 10	45 10	107, 108 a b	301 e f (47 c d)		
258	A 44 1	306		74 2 (42 15)	61 13	57 19	108 c d		A 34 1	x

259	A 45.1	307		74 3 (43 1)	61 14	57 21	109	302 (48) a b	A 34 6	x
260	A 45.1				61 16	57 21	110 a		A 35 1	x
261	A 45.2	307		74 4 (43 1)	61 16	57 22	110 b c d	302 (48) c d, 303 (49)	A 35 3, A 36 1	x
vs 64	63	55	40			219	cf 111		44	x
262	A 46 a 1	311		74 15 (43 11)	61 22	58 5			A 38 1	x
263	A 46 a 1	311		74 15 (43 11)	61 23	58 5	112 a	304 (50) a b	A 38 2, 6	x
264	A 46 a 2	312		74 16 (43 12)	62 1	58 6	112—115 a b	304 (50) c d	A 38 2	x
265	A 46 b 1	313		74 18 (43 14)	62 4	58 10			A 49 ?	?
266	A 46 b 2	314		74 18 (43 15)	62 5	58 11	cf 112 c		cf A 38 7 ?	?
vs 65	64	56	41	113 (127)		221	117 c d, 118		46	x
vs 66	66	57	42	114 (128)	240	223			A 38.7	x
vs 67	65	59	43	115 (129)		222			57	x
267	A 47	326		75 15 (44 13)	62 12	58 23			A 39 1 ?	?
vs 68	67	61	44			224			cf 46 ?	?
(268)	A 48 1				62 12	58 32	cf 115 c d ?			
(269)	A 48 2				62 14	58 33				
vs 69	68	60	45	118 (131)	241	226			cf 48 ?	?
270	A 49	331		75 19 (45 2)	62 18	59 3			A 44	x
vs 70	70	62	46	119 (132)	242	227				
271	A 50	334		76 4, 11 (45 8, 13)	62 22	59 8			A 43	
vs 71	71	63	47	121 (134)	243	229				
(272)	A 51 1				63 3	59 18				
(vs 72)	72					231				
(273)	A 52					59 21				
vs 73	73 a b	65	48			232	121 a b, 119		51	x
vs 74	73 c d	66	49			233	121		50	x
vs 75	74	67	50	122 (135)		235	120			
vs 76	75	68	51	123 (136)		237				
274	29 3	350		76 16 (46 1)	63 6	60 3			A 41 1	x

Reconstruction I	T I	SP I	N II	H II	Spl I	Pn I	So I	Ks I	Sy I	Ar I
vs 77	76				244	238			A 46.2	x
275	A 53	350		76 16 (46 1)	63 9, 20	60 6	**116 c d**, 122		A 41 1, 42	x
vs 78	77	69		124 (137)		240			48, 49	x
vs 79	78	71	53	127 (140)		**49**	cf **111**		A 37 ?	?
(276)	A 54					65 1				
(vs 80)	79					249			cf 52 ?	?
(277)	29 18					65 6				
vs 81	80					250			52	x
vs 82	81	73	54	128 (141)		251			53	x
vs 83	82					252			54	x
278	A 55 1	369		77 9 (46 bottom)		65 17				
279	A 55 1	369		77 9 (46 bottom)		65 17				
vs 84	83	75	55	129 (142)		253			55	x
280	A 56	375		77 16 (47 6)		65 24			**A 50.1**	x
281	A 56	375		77 22 (47 10)		65 24	**117 a b ?**		**A 50 4**	x
vs 85	84	375, vs 74	56	132 (145), 78 7 (48 2)		254			58	x
282	A 57 1	376		78 17 (48 8)		65 28	**116 a b**		A 46 1	x
283	A 57.1	376		78 17 (48 8)	cf 64 3	65 29			A 46 6	x
284	A 57 2	376				65 30	**125 a b c**	305 (51) a	A 46 6, A 48	x
(285)	A 57 3					66 1				
286	A 57 4				64 5	66 1	123, 124	305 (51) b c d		
vs 86	85	76	57		252	256	125 d	306 (52)	56	x
287	A 58	380			64 21	66 7			A 47	x
Story VII									Story	
288	31 4	381			65 2	66 9	126 a	307 (53) a b	VIII 1	x
289	31 4	381			65 2	66 10	**126 c d**	307 (53) b c	VIII 1	x
290		cf 381			65 3	66 11	126 b		VIII 1	x

291	31 5	382			65 5	66 13	127	307 (53) c d	VIII 3	x
(292)	31 6					66 14		cf 307 (53) a b		
293	31.8	383			65 6	66 16	**128 c d**	308 (54) a	VIII 4	x
294	31 9	383			65 6	66 18	128 a b, **129 c d**	308 (54) a b c		
295	31 10				65 14	66 20	cf 129 a			
296	31 12				65 15	66 25	cf 129 a b c		**VIII 6**	x
297	31 16	384			65 16	67 5	129 a b c	308 (54) c d		
298	32 1	384			66 5	67 7		**308 (54) b**		
299	32 2	385				67 12	130 a			
300	32 3	386			66 6	67 13, 18	130	309 (55) a b	VIII 5	x
(301)	32 4					67 19				
302	32 5	386				67 20	131 a b			
303	32 7	386			66 7	67 22	131 c d, 132 a b	309 (55) b c	VIII 7	x
304	32 7	387			66 17	67 24	132 c d	309 (55) c	VIII 8	x
305	32 9	388			**66.20**	68 3	133 a b		VIII 9	x
306	32 10	389			66 19	68 4	133 c	309 (55) d	VIII 10	x
307	32 11	389			66 21	68 6	133 c d	309 (55) d	VIII 10	x
End of Story VII										
308	A 59 1	391			66 22	68 8	134 a b			
309	A 62 1	391		79 15 (50 5)	68 21	70 1				
310	A 62 1	392		79 15 (50 5)	68 22	70 2	134 c d, 135	cf **304 (50) c d**	A 52	x
311	A 63 1	393		79 17 (50 7)	69 3	70 5	136, 137	316 a b c (62 c d, 63 a)	A 53, A 54 1	x
312	A 63 1	394		79 17 (50 7)	69 3	70 5	137 d		A 54 1	x
313	A 63 1	395		79 18 (50 8)	69 4	70 6	138		A 54 2	x
314	A 63 2	396		79 19 (50 9)	69 10	70 6	138 d, 139 a		A 54 4	x
vs 87	87	77		139 (152)	263	262			59	x
vs 88	89								61	x
vs 89	90	79	58	140 (153)			139 b c d		**60**	x
vs 90	91	80	59			271				

Reconstruction I	T I	SP I	N II	H II	Spl I	Pn I	So I	Ks I	Sy I	Ai I
315	A 64 a 1	408		80 6 (51 2)	70 7	70 30	140		{ prose after 59 A 55 1	x
316	A 64 a 1	408		80 15 (51 9)	70 7	70 31	141 a b		A 55 3	x
317	A 64 a 2	409		80 17 (51 11)	70 17	70 32	141 c d, 142 a		A 55 11	x
318	A 64 a 3	410		80 18 (51 12)	70 18	70 33	142 b c d		A 55 13	x
319	A 64 b 1	411		80 19 (51 13)	71 9	71 1	cf 143 d	cf 316 d (63 b)	cf A 55 17	x
320	A 64 b 1	412		80 20 (51 14)	71 9	71.1			A 55 15, A 62	x
321	A 64 b 2	412		80 20 (51 15)	71 10	71 2	143	316 d, 317 a (63 bc)	A 55 17	x
vs 91	92	81	60	143 (156)	278	272			A 55 end	x
322	A 65			81 1 (51 15)		71 6				
vs 92	93	82	61	145 (158)		273	144 a b c		63	x
323	A 66	418		81 10 (52 10)	72 3	71 11				
vs 93	94	83	62	146 (159)	283	274			64	x
vs 94	95	84	63			276			62	x
vs 95	96								31 7, vs 65	x
vs 96	97	85	64							x
324	A 67 1	429		81 16 (52 13)		71 23			A 57	x
325	A 67 1	429		81 16 (52 13)		71 23				
326	A 67 2	430		81 17 (52 14)		71 24				
vs 97	98				284				66	x
(327)	A 68				72 13	58.27				
vs 98	99	86	65	147 (160)	285	225				
vs 99	100	87	66							
vs 100	101	88	67			241				
vs 101	102	89	68			242				
vs 102	103	90	69	148 (161)		243				
vs 103	104	91	70			244				
vs 104	105	92	71	.		245			73	x

vs 105	106	94	72	149 (162)		277				.
vs 106	107	95	73							
328	A 70 1	455	.	82 7 (53 12)		73 21			A 60 b	x
329	A 70 1					74 1			A 60 b	x
vs 107	108	96	74	150 (164)		285			69	x
(vs 108)	109		.			286				
330	A 71	464		82 18 (54 6)	cf 70.23, 71.18	74 14			A 61	x
vs 109	110	98	76		.	289		.	70	x
vs 110	111	99	77			290			71	x
vs 111	112	100	78			291			71 end, 72	x
331	A 72		.		cf 72 22	74 29			A 58	x
vs 112	113					292			67	x
(vs 113)	114					294				
vs 114	115					295			68	x
332	A 73	477			73 5	75 17	144 b	317 a b (63 c d)	A62 3, A63	x
vs 115	116	101	79		288	297	144 d	317 c d (64 a b)	74	x
333	A 74	480	.		73 9	75 20			A 64	x
Story VIII										
334	39 4	481		144 2 (130 12)	73 11	76 1	145 a b	318 a (64 c)	34 3	x
335	39 4	481		144 2 (130 13)	73 12	76 2	145 c d	318 d (65 b)	34 4	x
336	39.5	482		144 3 (130 13)	73 12	76 3	146	320 a b (66 c d)	34 5	x
337	39 6	cf 482		cf 144 4 (130 14)	73 14	76 4	146 d, 147 a b		cf 34 9	x
338	39 7	482		144 4 (130 14)	73 14	76 4, 7	147 a		34 9	x
339	39 7				73 15	76 5	147 c d			
340	39 8	483		144.5 (130 15)	73 21		cf 148 b	320 b (66 d)		.
341	39 9	483		144 4 (130 15)	73 22	76 7			34 10	x
342	39 9	484		144 5 (131 1)	74 1	76 8	148		34 13	x
343	39 11	484		144 6 (131 2)	74 5	76 9	149	318 b (64 d)	34 15	x
344	39 12	485		144 7 (131 3)	74 8	76 10	cf 149 c d	318 c (65 a)	34 19	x

Reconstruction I	T I	SP I	N II	H II	Spl I	Pn I	So I	Ks I	Sy I	Ar I
345	39 13	485			74 9	76 12			34 23	λ
346	39.14	cf 486				76 13				
347	39 15					76 14		cf 319 c d (66 a b)	34 25	λ
348	39 15					76 15			34 27	x
349	39 16	486				76 16				
(350)	39 17					76 17				
351	39.18	486			74 9	76 19			34 28	λ
352	40 1	487			74 11	76 21	150 a b		34 30	x
353	40.1	487		144 7 (131 3)	74 12	76 22	150 c d		34 31	x
354	40.2	488			74 12	76 22				
355	40 3	488		144 8 (131 4)	74 13	76 23	**151 d**		**34 33**	λ
(356)	40.3									
357	40 4	488		144 9 (131 5)			151 c, 152 a b		34 32	\
358	40 5	489		144 9 (131 5)	74 14	77 1	cf **153 a b**		34 35	x
359	40 6	489		144 10 (131 6)	74 15	77 2			34 38	x
360	40.7	495		145 1 (131 14)	74 18	77 5			35 1	λ
361	40 8			145 1 (131 14)					35 2	x
362	40.9	495		145 2 (131 15)	74 19	77 6	**151 a**	318c,319 (65a,cd,66ab)	35 3	x
363	40 10	496		145 3 (132 1)	74 21	77 8	**151 a b**		35 6	x
364	40 11	497		145 4 (132 2)					35 9	x
365	40 11	497		145 4 (132 3)	74 21	77 8	cf **151 d**	320 c d (67 a b)	35 9	x
366	40 12	497		145 5 (132 3)	74 22	77 9	153 a b		35 10, 19	x
vs 116	117	103	81	IV 60 (IV 57)	290	298			75	\
367	41 1	503							35 21	x
vs 117	118	105	83				cf 152 cd		76	λ
368	41 5	506		145 14 (132 10)	75 5	77 18			35 28	x
(369)	41 6									

370	41 6	506		145 15 (132 11)	75 6	77 19	153 c d		35 31	\
371	41 7	507		145 15 (132 11)	75 17	78 7	154 a b	321 (67 c d, 68 a b)	35 34	x
372	41 8	507		145 16 (132 12)	75 17	78 8	154 c	322 b (68 d)	35 34	x
373	41 9				75 18	78 8	154 d, 155, 156		36 2	\
374	41 10	508		145 16 (132 12)	76 1	78 15	157 a b	322 a (68 c)	36 11	λ
375	41 11	508		145 17 (132 13)	76 2	78 17	157 c d	322 a, c d (68 c, 69 a b)	36 12	x
376	41.12	509		146 7 (133 3)	76 9	78 23	158 a b	323 a (69 c)	36 16	x
377	41 13	510		146 8 (133 4)	76 15	79 6	158 b c	323 b (69 d)	36 19	x
378	41 15	510		146 8 (133 4)	76 20	79 11	158 c d	323 c (70 a)	36 22	x
379	41 15	511		146 9 (133 4)	77 4	79 18	159 a b	cf 323 d (70 b)	36 24	λ
380	41 16	511		146 9 (133 5)	77 13	80 4	159 b c	323 d (70 b)	36 26	ɣ
381	41 17	511		146 10 (133 6)	77 10	80 1		324 (70 c d, 71 a b)	36 28	ɣ
382	41 18	512		146 10 (133 6)	77 12, 17	80 4, 10	159 c d	325 a b (71 c d)	36 31	x
383	42.2	512		146 11 (133 7)	77 22	80 15	160	325 c d (72 a b)	36 34	λ
End of Story VIII										
384	A 75	514			78 1	80 18			A 65 1	x
385	A 76 1	514			78 2	80 18, 82.15			A 65 1	\
vs 118	A 76 2	106	84		cf 302	80 19	162		76 a	x
386	A 77	525		82 19 (54 10)	78 8	82 16	161		A 66	x
vs 119	120					310			77	x
387	A 78	531		83 7 (55 1)	78 20, 79 6	82 21	163 a b c	326 a b (72 c d)	A 67	ɣ
vs 120	121	110	87		306	169				
vs 121	122	111	88		308	311			78	λ
vs 122	123	112	89							
vs 123	124	113	90	154 (169)	309	312			79	x
388	A 79	543			79 21	83 9		326 c d, 327 a b (73)	A 68	x
vs 124	125	115	92	137 (149)	312	315	163 d	327 c d (74 a b)	80	λ
389	A 80	546			80 5	83 13			A 69	x

Reconstruction I	T I	SP I	N II	H II	Spl I	Pn I	So I	Ks I	Sy I	Ar I
Story IX										
390	43 9	547		78 bottom (48 12)	80 7	83 15	164 a b		p 37 bottom	x
391	43 9	547		78 bottom (48 13)	80 7	83 18	164 c d	328 a b (74 c d)	p 37 bottom	x
392	43.10	547		78 bottom (48 14)	80 9	83 19	165 a	328 c d (75 a b)	p 37 bottom	x
393	43 11	548		78 bottom (48 14)	80 10	83 20			38 1	x
394	43 11	548		79 1 (48 15)	80 11	83 21	165 b c d	329 a b (75 c d)	38 4	x
395	43 13	549		79 2 (49 1)	80 13	83 23	166	329 c d, 330 ab (76)	38 6	x
396	43 14	550		79 3 (49 2)		84 14	167 a b	330 c d (77 a b)	38 10	x
vs 125	126	116	93	138 (150)		323			81	x
vs 126	127	117	94	IV 4	315	325	167 c d	331 (77 c d, 78 a b)	82	x
397	44 3	555			81 9	85 3			38 24	x
Story X										
398	44 4	556			81 11	85 5	168 a b	322 a b (78 c d)	38 28	x
399	44 4	556		129 5 (111 11)	81 11	85 5	168 c d	332 a (78 c)	38 29	x
400	44 5	557			81 14	85 6	169 a b	332 b (78 d)	38 30	x
401	44 6	557				85 8	169 c d		38 32	x
402	44 7	558				85 8			38 33	x
403	44 7	558				85 10	169 d		38 35	x
404	44 8	559		cf 131 9 (114 1)	81 17	85 10	170 a b		38 35	x
405	44.11	559		131 10 (114 2)	82 7	85 16, 21	170 c d, 171 c d	333 b (79 d)	39 1, 4	x
406	44.13	560		132 11 (115 6)	82 8	85 22	172 c d, 173 a	333 c d (80 a b)	39 1	x
407	44 13	561		131 12 (114 5)	82 5	85 18	172 a b	332 c (79 a)	39 5	x
408	44 14	561		131 11 (114 3)	82 5	85 19	171 ab, 172 a b	332 d (79 b)	39 7	x
409	44.15	562		132 14 (115 9)	82 9	86 3	173, 174	333a, 334ab (79c, 80cd)	39 8	x
410	44 16	562			82 11	86 5	175 a b c	334 bcd (80 d, 81 ab)	39 10	x
411	44 17	562		132 17 (115 13)	82 12	86 6	175 d	335 a b (81 c d)	39 11	x
412	44 17	563		132 17 (115 14)	82 13	86 7	176 a, c	335 a (81 c)	39 12	x

413	45 1	563		132 18 (115 15)	82 13	86 8	176 b c d	335 c d (82 a b)	39 13	x
414	45 2	564		132 18 (115 15)	82 13	86 9	176 d	335 d (82 b)		x
End of Story X										
415	45 4	565	.		82 14	86 11	177 a b			
416	45 4	565			82 15	86 12	177 c d, 178 a			
vs 127	128	118	95	IV 5 (IV 6)	318	326	178 b	336 (82 c d, 83 a b)	47	x
417	45 7	568	.	.	82 18	86 15				
Story XI										
418	45 8	569			82 20	86 17	178 c d	**337 c (84 a)**	25 6	x
419	45 9	569	.		**82 20**	86 18	179	337 a b c (83 c d, 84 a)	25 7	x
420	45 9	570	.	129 16 (112 7)	82 21	86 19	180 a b, **d**	337 d (84 b)	25 7	x
421	45 11	570	.		82 22	86 20	180 c d	338 a b (84 c d)	25 8	x
422	45.11	571		129 16 (112 8)	83 2	86 21	181 a	338 b, d (84 d, 85 b)	25 9	x
423	45 13	572	.	129 17 (112 9)	83 13	87 3	182		**25 12**	x
424	45 14	588	.	131 3 (113 11)	83 21	87 6	183 a b			
425		589		**129 17 (112 8)**	84 7	87 12	**181 b c d**	338 c d (85 a b)	25 9	x
426	45 16	589		131 6 (113 13)	84 9	87 13	183 c d, 184 a	339 a b (85 c d)	25 11	x
427	45 17	590	.	131 6 (113 13)	.	87 15	184 b c d	339 c d (86 a b)	25 16	x
428	46.1	590	.	131 7 (113 14)	.	87 16	185 a b	340 a (86 c)	25 17	x
429	46 2	591	.	131 7 (113 14)		87 18	185 c d	340 b (86 d)	25 18	x
430	46 3	592	.	131 8 (113 15)	cf 84 10	87 18	186	340 c d (87 a b)	25 20	x
End of Story XI										
431	46 4	593	.	.	84 10	87 21	.			
432			.			87 21	187		39 15	x
433	46 4	593	.	79 7 (49 8)	**81 1**	88 2	**188 c d**	341 a b c (87 c d, 88 a)	39 16	x
434	46.5	594	.	79 7 (49 8)	80.18, 81 2	88 2	188 a b, 189	341 c d (88 a b)	39 17	x
435	46 6	594	.	79 8 (49 10)	**81 3**	88 8	**190 c d**	cf 342 a (88 c)	39 21	x
436	46.7	595	.	79 8 (49 10)	**81 4**	88 9	190 a b	342 a (88 c)	39 21	x
437	46 7	595	.	79 9 (49 11)	**84 11**	88 12	191		39 25	x

Reconstruction I	T I	SP I	N II	H II	Spl I	Pn I	So I	Ks I	Sy I	Ai I
438	46 8	596		70 10 (49 12)	88 7	92 3	192 a b	342 a b c (88 c d, 89 a)	39 27	x
439	46.9				88 9	92 8			39 37	x
440	46 10				88 13	92 9, 93 20	cf 192 c d		39 39	x
441	46 11	596		79 10 (49 12)	88 18	93 23	192 c d		40 3	x
442	46.12				89 20	93 23, 94 20				
443				— (49 13)	88 20	93 24	193 d	342 c (89 a)	40 4	x
444				— (49 14)	88 20	94 2	193 a b c		40 5	x
445	46 12	597		79 11 (49 15)	89 18		194 a	342 d (89 b)		
446	46 13	597			90 9	95 6				
447	46.15	597		79 11 (49 15)	90 18	95 15	194 b	343 a (89 c)	40 7	x
448	46 16	598		cf (50 1)	91 6	96 2	cf 194 b c d	cf 343 (89 c d, 90 a b)	40 8	x
449	46 17	598		— (50 1)	91 7	96 3	cf 194 b c d	cf 343 (89 c d, 90 a b)	cf 40 8	x
450	46 17				91 7	96 4	194 b c	343 a b (89 c d)	cf 40 8	x
451	47 1	599		79 12 (50 2)	91 8	96 5	194 d	343 c d (90 a b)	40 9	x
End of Story IX										
452	A 81.1	600			91 9	96 8	195 a b	344 (90 c d, 91 a b)	A 70 1	x
453	A 81 1	600		83 14 (55 10)	91 11	96 8			A 70 11	x
454	A 81 2	601		83 15 (55 11)	91 14	96 9	196 a b c		A 70 12	x
455	A 81 3	602		83 16 (55 12)	91 17	96 11	196 c d		A 70 16	x
456	A 82 1	603		83 20 (56 1)	92 10	96 13	198 a b c	345 a b (91 c d)	A 71 1	x
457	A 82 1	603		83 21 (56 2)	92 10	96 13			A 71 2	x
458	A 82.1	603		83 22 (56 3)	92 11, 22	96 14	198 c d	345 c d (92 a b)	A 71 4	x
vs 128	129	120				349			83	x
459		607		84 7 (56 9)					A 72 1	x
460	A 89	607		84 7 (56 9)	98 12	100 1	199, 200 a b c		A 72 2	x
vs 129	135					356			84	x
461	A 90.1	608		84 9 (56 12)	98 18	100 7	200 c d, 201 a b	390 (131)	A 73 1	x

462	A 90 2	. .			98 20	100 7	201 c	cf 390 (131)	A 73 5	x
463	A 90 3	608		84 10 (56 12)	98 22	100 9	201 d		cf A 73 5	x
464	A 91	609			98 22	100 10	202 a b	306 (107) c d	A 74 1	x
465	A 91	609			99 1	100 11			A 74 3	x
vs 130	136	.			376	357			85, 86, 87	x
vs 131	137	121	97		379	358				
vs 132	138	123	99		380	360				
vs 133	139	124	100		377	359				
vs 134	140				.	362				?
vs 135	143					364			88	
vs 136	144	.							89	
466	A 92	619			cf 99 21?	101 3				
vs 137	145					365			90, 91	x
(467)	A 93 1				99 21	101 9				
468	A 93 2	619			100 1	101 10			A 75 8	x
vs 138	146	125	101		381	cf 101 12			92	x
469	A 94				100 5	101 12			A 75 1?	?
vs 139	147	.				368 a, 367 bcd			93	x
470	A 95	623				101 21				
vs 140	148	126	102		383	369				
471	A 96	629			100 14	101 27			cf 95—96?	
vs 141	149	127	103		384	370			95, 96	x
472	A 97	632				101 31	202 c d		cf A 77	x
vs 142	150	129	104			371			97	x
(473)	A 98					102 1				
vs 143	151	130	105			372				
474	A 99	637				102 3			A 77	x
vs 144	153	132	106		.	373	203	361 (108)	98	x
vs 145	154	.				374				x

Reconstruction 1	T I	SP I	N II	H II	Spl I	Pn I	So I	Ks I	Sy I	Ai I
475	A 100	640				102 11				
vs 146	155	133	107			375				
(476)	A 101					102 14				
vs 147	156					376			**94**	x
477	A 102	643			**100** 8, 18	101 16, 102 19			**A 76**	x
(vs 148)	157				385	377				
478	A 103	646				107 18				
vs 149	158	136	109			381				
(479)	A 104					107 23				
vs 150	159				**408**	382			99	
480	A 105	650			100 21	108 1	204 a	362 (109) a b c	A78, cf A75 7	x
vs 151	160	137	110		386	383	204	362 (109) c d	100	x
481	A 106	653			101 1	108 4			A 79	x
Story XII									Story	
482	53 19	654			101 3	108 6	205 a b	**363 (110) a b**	XII 1	x
483	53 19	654			101 3	108 6	205 c d	363 (110) a, c	XII 2	x
484	53 20	655			101 6	108 8	206 a b	363 (110) b c d	XII 4	x
485	53 22	**656**				108 10	206 c d		**XII.6**	x
486	53 23	656			101 7	108 11	207 a b	364 (111) a b c	XII 7	x
487	53 23	657			101 8	108 13	207 c d	364 (111) c d	XII 8	x
488	54 1					108 14	208 a	365 (112) a b c	XII 9	x
489	54 1					108 14	cf 208 b	cf 365 (112) b c	XII 9	x
490	54 2	**657**			101 18	108 15	208 b c	365 (112) c d	XII 9	x
491	54 3	657			101 19	108 16	208 d, 209 a b	366 (113)	XII 15	x
End of Story XII										
492	A 107	659			101 21	108 19	209 c d	367 (114)		
493	A 107	659			103 3	108 19				

vs 152	161	•			394	384	210	cf 367 (114)	A 80	x
(494)	A 108					108 22				
(vs 153)	162					385				
(vs 154)	163					386				
(495)	54 13					109 1				
vs 155	164	138	111			387				
vs 156	165	139	112			388				
496	A 109	664								
vs 157	166	140	113							
497	54 21	667			103 11	109 6				
vs 158	167	141	114		396	389	210	368 (115)	101	x
498	A 110	670			103 14	109 9			A 81	x
Story XIII										
499	55 1	671			103 16	109 11	211	369 (116) a b c	45 20	x
500	55 2	671				109 12	212 a b		45 22	x
501	55 2	672				109 13	212 c d	369 (116) c d	45 23	x
502	55 4	673			104 7	109 14	213 a b		45 25	x
503	55 5	674			104 11	109 16			45 26	x
504	55 7	674			104 11	109 19			45 29	x
505	55 8	675			104 11	109 20			45 30	x
506	55 9	677			104 13	109 21	214 a b	cf 370 (117) a b c	45 33	x
507	55 11	678			104 21	109 23	213 c d	370 (117) a b c	45 36	x
(508)	55 11	(679)			104 22	109 25	214 c d			
509	55 15	679			104 22	110 3	215 a			
510	55 15	680				110 4				
511	55 16	680			104 22	110 6	215 b c d	370 (117) c d	45 37	x
512	55 17	681			104 23	110 7	216 a b		46 2	x
513	55 18	682			105 1	110 8	216 c d		46 3	x
514	55 18	682			105 2	110 9	217		46 5	x

Reconstruction I	T I	SP I	N II	H II	Spl I	Pn I	So I	Ks I	Sy I	Ai I
515	56 1	683			105 3	110 10	218 a b		46 6	x
516	56 2	683			105 4	110 10	218 c d, 220 b	371 (118) a	46 6	x
517	56 3	683			105 5	110 12	219 a b	371 (118) b	46 8	x
518		684			105 7	110 14	219 c d			x
519	56 3	684			105 11	110 18	220 a, c d		46 10	x
520	56 4	685			105 12	110 19	221		46 11	x
521	56 6	686			105 13	110 20	223 a b	371 (118) d	46 13	x
522	56 6	686			105 13	110 20			46 14	x
523	56 7	686							46 14	x
524	56 8	687			105 17	110 24	222	371 (118) c d	46 15	x
525	56 9	688			105 18	111 1	223 c d	372 (119) a b c	46 16	x
526	56 10	689				111 6	224	372 (119) c d	46 17	x
527	56 11	689			105 23	111 7	225 a b	373 (120) a	46 19	x
528	56 11	690			106 1	111 8	cf 225 a b		46 21	x
529		690			106 3				46 22	x
530	56 12	691			106 4	111 9	225 c d	373 (120) a b c	46 23	x
531	56 13	691			106 5	111 11			46 26	x
532	56 13	692				111 12			46 29	x
vs 159	168	142	115	IV 10 (IV 9)	406	393	233	377 (124)	102	x
533	56 18	696				111 16			46 36	x
Story XIV										
534	56 19	697			107 3	111 18	234 a		47 3	x
535	56 19	697		132 3 (114 13)	107 3	111 18	234 b c	378 (125) a b	47 3	x
536	57 1	698		132 4 (114 13)	107 5	111 20	234 d		47 5	x
537	57 3	699		132 5 (114 14)	107 6	111 22			47 7	x
538	57 5	700			107 8	111 23			47 9	x
539	57 5	700		132 5 (114 15)	107 9	112 3	235 a	378 (125) b c	47 10	x

540	57 6	701		132 5 (114 15)	107 15	112 9	235	378 (125) c d	47 13	x
541	57 8			132 7 (115 1)	107 16	112 10			47 15	x
542	57 8	702		132 8 (115 3)	107 17	112 11	236	379 (126) a b c	47 17	x
543	57 9	702		132 8 (115 3)	107 18	112 12		379 (126) c d	47 19	x
End of Story XIV										
544	57 11	704			107 19	112 14	237 a b		47 20	x
545	57 11	704			106 7	112 14	226	cf 373 (120) a b c	47 22	x
546	57 12	705			106 7	112 16	227, 228	373 (120) c d	47 25	x
547	57 15	707			106 14	113 1	229	374 (121)	47 29	x
548	58 7	708			106 16	113 3	229 d, 230 a	375 (122)	47 31	x
549	58 9	709			106 17	113 4	230 b c d	376 (123) a b c	47 34	x
550	58 11	709			106 19	113 6				
(551)	58 12					113 6				
552	58 13	710			106 19	113 6		376 (123) cd, 380 (127) ab		
553	58 14	711					230 d		47 35	x
554	58 14	711			106 20	113 8	231, 232	381 (128) a b	47 36	x
End of Story XIII										
555	A 111	713				113 10				
556	A 111	713				113 10		381 (128) c d	A 82	x
vs 160	169	143	116			396			103	x
557	A 112					113 14		cf 381 (128) d ?		?
vs 161	170					397			104	x
558	A 113	717			108 6	113 18		382 (129) a b	A 83	x
vs 162	171	144	117			398			105	x
vs 163	174	145	118			403			106	x
(559)	A 116				107.22 ?	114 6				
560	A 116	722			108 5	114 6		382 (129) c d	A 84, A 86	x
vs 164	175	146	119		409	404	237 b		107	x
561	A 117	725			108 9	114 10			A 85	x

Reconstruction I	T I	SP I	N II	H II	Spl I	Pn I	So I	K_s I	Sy I	A_1 I
Story XV										
562	59.25	726			108 11	114 12	237 c d		49 7	x
563	59 25	cf 726			108 11	114 12			49 7	x
564	60 1	cf 726			108 18	114 19	238 a b	cf 383 a b c (—)	49 8	x
565	60 1	726			108 18	114 20	238 c d	383 a b c (—)	49 9	x
566	60 2	727			108 20	114 21	239 a b	383 c d, 384 a (—)	49 10	x
567	60 4	728			108 21	114 23	239 c d	384 b c (—)	49 12	x
568	60 4	729								
569	60 5	729			108 22	114 24	240	384 d, 385 a b (—)	49 14	x
570	60 8						241	385 c d (—)	49 21	x
571	60 10	729			109 2	114 26	242		cf 49 23	x
572	60 11	730			109 13	115 12	243	386 a b (—)	49.23	x
573	60 12	731			109 14	115 14	244 a b		49 24	x
574	60 13	731			109 15	115 14	244 a		49 25	x
575	60 14	731			109 16	115 15	244 c d	386 c d (—)	49 26	x
576	60 14	731			109 21	115 20	245	387 a b (—)	49 29	x
577	60 15	732			109 21	115 21	cf 245 a		cf 49 29	x
578	60 16	733			109 23	115 22				
579	60 17	733			109 23	115 24	245 d			
580	60 17	734			110 2	116 1	246 a b c	387 c d (—)	49 31	x
581	60 18	734			110 3	116 2	246 d	387 d (—)	49 32	x
vs 165	61 1	734			414	409	247	388 (130)	49 33	x
582	61 3	735			110 6	116 6	248		49 35	x
End of Story XV										
583	A 118	737			110 8	116 9				
584	A 118									x
vs 166	176								108	x

585	A 119				110 9	116 9			A 88	x
vs 167	177				415	410			111	x
vs 168	A 120 1	147	120			116 19				
586	A 120 2	740				116 20			A 87	x
vs 169	178	148	121			415			110	x
(vs 170)	179					422				
587	A 121	743				vs 423		346 a (92 c)?		
vs 171	180	150	122			425				
588	A 122	748				123 24				x
589	•A 123 1	748		84 10 (56 13)	113 3	123 26	252	391 (132) a	A 89 1	x
590	A 123 1	748		84 11 (56 14)	113 5	123 27		391 (132) a [b ?]	A89 3, A90 1	x
591	A 123 1	749		84 12 (56 15)	113 6	123 28			cf 112	x
vs 172	181	152	124	160 (177)	Hamb mss 395	427			112	x
592	A 124	758		85 1 (57 7)	113 15	124 5		391 (132) b ?	A 90 1	x
vs 173	182	153	125	161 (178)	423	428				
vs 174	183	154	126	165 (182)	424	429			A 90 7	x
(vs 175)						430			A 90 8, vs 113	x
593	A 125			85 20 (58 6)	113 16	124 17				
vs 176	184	155	127			431				
vs 177	185	156	128	166 (183)	425	432		391 (132) c		
• 594	A 126	772		86 1 (58 10)	114 7		[cf 253]	391 (132) d	A 91	x
Colophon	63 6	773		— (59 4)	114 8	125 29		after 391 (132)	p 190, n 188	

Reconstruction II	T II	SP II	N I	H I	Spl II	Pn II	So II	Ks II	Sy II	Ai III
1	64 1	774			1 1	126 1			A 92	1
vs 1	1	1	1	1 (1)	1	1			1	2
2	64 4	777		6 3 (14 3)	1 5	126 5			A 93	3
3	64 5	778		6 4 (14 4)	1 6	126 6	58 a	392 (1) a	A 94 1	4
4	64 5	778		6 4 (14 4)	1 6	126 6	58 b	392 (1) e	A 94 2	4
5	64 6	778		6 7 (14 7)	1 13	126 12	58 c d	392 (1) b c d	A 94 3	4
6	64 6	779		6 7 (14 7)	1 13	126 12	59		A 94 4	5
7	64 9	780		6 8 (15 2)	1 16	126 18	60 a b		A 94 8	6
8	64 11	782		6 17 (15 10)	2 1	126 20	60 b c d		A 95 1	7
9	64 12	782		6,18 (16 2)	2 5	126 23	61	393 (2) a b c	A 95 3	8
10	64 13	783		10 1, 5 (24 7,25 4)	2 6	126 24	62	393 (2) c d	A 95 5	8
11	64 14	784			2 19	127 9			A 95 8	9
12	64.15	784		10 10 (25 8)	2 20	127 9	63 a b		A 95 9	9
13	64 16	785		11 4 (27 3)	2 21	127 11	63 c d		A 95 10	10
14	65 2	786		11 10 (27 8)	3 6	127 26	64	394 (3) a b	A 95 13	10
15	65 3	786		11 10 (27 9)	3 6	128 1	65 a		A 96	11
vs 2	2	2	2	26 (36)	8	7				11
16	65.7	790				128 5			cf A 97	13
17	65.8	790			3 10	128 6		394 (3) b c d	A 98 9	12, 16
18	65 15	790				128 5			A 97 , 98 1	13
19	65 17	791		11 14 (28 3)	3 11	128 10	65 a b		A 98 6	15
20	65.18	792		11 14 (28 4)	3 19	128 17	65 c d	395 (4) a		
21	65.18				3 19	128 17			cf A 98 1?	
22	65 20	792		11 19 (28 8)	3 21	128 19	66 a b	395 (4) a b c	A 98 3	14
23	65 20	793		11 20 (28 9)	3 21	128 20	66 b c d		A 98 5	14
24	65 21	793		11.20 (28 10)	4 2	128 21	67	cf 395 (4) a b	A 98 10	17
25	vs 4	794		11 21 (28 10)	4 3	vs 10	69 d		2, A 99	18

26	66 3	794		11 22 (29 2)		128 24				
27	66 5	795		12 1 (29 3)	4 12	128 25	68	395 (4) c d	A 100 1	19
28	66 5				4 13	128 27			A 100 2	19
29	66.6				4 15	128 28	68 b		A 100 2	19
30	66 6	795		12 2 (29 4)	4 17	128 29	69, 70 a b		A 100 3	20
31	66 8	797		12 4 (29 10)	5 2	129 1	**70 a**		A 100 4	20
32	66 8	797		12 4 (29 10)	5 2	129 2			A 100 6	20
vs 3	5	3	3	— (39)	17	12			3	21
33	• 66 19	803			5 9					
vs 4	7	4	4	**37 (49)**	18	14			4	22
vs 5	8	5	5	**38 (50)**	19	15			5	23
vs 6	9	6	6	**39 (51)**	20	16			6	24
34	67.18	812		12 6 (30 8)	5 22	129 21			A 101 1	25
35	67.18	812		12 7 (30 9)	5 22	129 21			A 101 2	25
36	67 19				5 23	129 23			A 101 4	26
37	67 19				6 1	129 23			A 101 5	26
38	67 20	813			6 2	• 129 24			[illegible] 7	27
39	67 23	814		[illegible] (31 1)	6 10	129 30			A 101 14	28
40	68 1	814		13 19 (33 9)	6 14	130 1			A 101 19	28
vs 7	16	7	7	13 20 (33 10)	24	20			7	29
41	68 5	818		13 21 (34 1)	6 19	130 6	70 [illegible]		A 102 1	30
42	68 5	818		13 21 (34 2) 11 14 (35 5)	6 19	130 6	71		A 102 2	30
43	68 7	820		14 16 (35 10)	7 2	130 10	72 a b	396 (5) a b	A 103 1	31
44	68.8				7 4	130 11			A 103 4	31
45	68 9	820		14 16 (35 10)	7 8	130 16	72 c d		A 103 8	32
46	68 10	note to 822		14 17 (36 3)	7 9	130 18			A 103 8	32
47	68 11	note to 822		14 18 (36 4)	7 11	130 19	73 a			32
48	68 12			cf **14 18 (36 3)**	7 12	130 20	**74 a b c**		cf A103 8 ?	cf 32 ?
49	68 14	820		**14 17 (36 1)**	7 15	130 22	73 b c		A 103 10	32

Reconstruction II	T II	SP II	N I	H I	Spl II	Pn II	So II	Ks II	Sy II	Ai III
50	68 15	821		**14 17 (36 2)**	7 17	130 23	73 c d		A 103 13	
51	69 5	822		14 19 (36 5)	7 18	130 25	74 c		A 104	33
vs 8	20	**15**	**13**	**66 (89)**					8	34
vs 9	21	8	8	40 (53)	**7 18**	**130 25**	74 d		9	35
52	69 10	825		21 1 (52 7)			75 a		A 105	36
vs 10	22	9		61 (83)			75 b c d		10	37
53	69 13								A106a 1-3, A106 b	38
vs 11	69 13	10	9	62 (84)					**A 106 a 4-6**	
vs 12	23	11	10	63 (85)					11	
vs 13	**17**								12	39
54	**68 19**	832		21 10 (53 4)	**7 4**	? **130 12**				
vs 14	**18**	12	11	cf 21 10 (53 4) ?						
(55)	**69 3**				7 19	130 28				
56	**69 4**	835								40 ?
57		835		21 14 (53 8)	8 5	130 29				
vs 15	**25**	13	12	65 (87)	29	**24**			**13**	**42**
58					8 9	131 1				
59	69 20				8 10	131 2			A 107	41
vs 16	26	16	14							
vs 17	27	17	15						14	43
vs 18	28	18	16	p 21, n 6 (90)	**41**	**35**			15	44
vs 19	29	19	17		31 **bis**	27				
vs 20	30	20	18		9 5					
60	70 22	858		21 21 (54 7)	9 11	131 22			A 108	45, 46 ?
vs 21	31	21	19	**68 (92)**	33	29			**17**	**48**
vs 22	32	22	20	67 (91)		30			16	47
61	71 3	**859**		{ 21.22 (54 19) } { 22 14 (55 10) }	**S 3**, 9 14	130 28, 131 29 132 11	76 a b		A 109	49

62	71 5	864		22 14 (55 11) 23 8 (57 5)		132 15	76 b	396 (5) c d	A 110 1	50
63	71 5					132 16			A 110 2	50
64	71 7					132 17			A 111 1	51
65	71 8					132 18			A 111 2	51
66	71 9					132 19			A 111 6	52
vs 23	35	23	21							
67	71 20					132 19			A 112, 113	53
vs 24	37					38			19	54
68	72 5	867		23 8 (—)		132 24	76 c d	cf 396 c d (5 c d)	A 114 1	55
vs 25	38	24	22	cf 23 9 (57 5)?	49	42			20	55
69	72 8	870		23 9 (57 6)	11 1	132 24			A 114 2	55
70	72 10	871		} cf 23 11 (57 8) {	11 3	132 26	77 a		A 115 1	
71	72 12				11 4	132 29	77 b		A 115 2	
72	72 14	note to 872		23 10 (57 7)	11 6, 22	132 31	77 c d	397 (6) a b	A 115 3	55
73	72 16	873		23 12 (57 9)	11 23	133 11	78 a b	397 (6) c d	A 116 1	56
74	72 16	873		23 12 (57 9)	12 1	133 11	79 c	398 (7)	A 116 2	
75	72 18	873		{ 23 12 (57 9) 23 13 (58 1) }	12 3	133 13	80 a b	cf 398 (7)	A 116 2	56
76	72 19	874		23 17 (58 4)	12 9	133 18	78 c d, 79 a b	399 (8) a b c	A 116 5	57
77	72 20	875		24 1 (58 10)	12 10	133 19	79 c d	399 (8) c d	A 116 8	57
78	72 21	875		24 1 (58 10)	12,21	133 24	80 c d, 81 a b c		A 116 10	58
79	72 22	877			12 22	133 25			A 116 11	58
80	73 1	877			12 23	133 25	81 d		A 116 12	59
81	73 1	878		24 9 (59 8)	13 10	134 1	82		A 116 15	60
82	73 3			24 10 (59 10)	13 11	134 3			21, 22, 23	61
83	73 12				13 13	134 4			A 117 1	62
84	73 14				13 15	134 5			A 117 3	62
85	73 14	879			13 19	134 9			A 117 3, 118 1	63
86	73 16	879		24 11 (59 10)	14 6	134 12	83	400 (—)	A 118 2	63
87	73 20	880		24 16 (60 6)	14 10	134 15		401 (9) a ?		

Reconstruction II	T II	SP II	N I	H I	Spl II	Pn II	So II	Ks II	Sy II	Ar III
vs 26	36, 43	26	23	149 (187)						
88	73 24	886		24 19 (60 9)	vs 58 cd	vs 47 cd	84	401 (9) ab	A 119 1	64
89	73.24	886		24 19 (60 10)	14 17	134 21	85	401 (9) cd	A 119 4	65
90	note to 74 2	888		25 2 (61 1)	14 17	134 21	86		A 119 7, 120	66
Story I										
91	74 4	889		25 3 (61 2)	14 22	134 25	89 a b c	402 (10) ab	p 60 1	67
92	74 5	890		25 4 (61 3)	15 1	134 27	89 d, 90, 91 a	403 (11) a b	p 60 3	68
93	74 9	890		25 5 (61 5)	15 9	135 2	91 b c d	402 c d, 403 c (10 c d)	60 7	69
94	74 9				15 12	135 2		403 c? (—)	60 9	70
95	74 12	891		25 6 (61 5)	15 17	135 6	92 ab	404 ab (11 cd)	60 11	71
96	74 13				15 19	135 7	92 c	404 c (12 a)	60 12	72
97	74 14	892		25 7 (61 7)	15 20	135 8	92 c d	404 c d (12 a b)	60 13	72
98	74 16								60 15	73
99	75 3	892		25 7 (61 7)	15 21	135 9	93	405 a b c (12 c d, 13 a)	60 20	74
100	75 4	893		25 8 (61 8)	15 23	135 11	94	405 c d (13 a b)	60 22	74
101	75 5	893		25 8 (61 8)	16 1	135 12	94 a b	406 (13 c d, 14 a b)	60 23	75
102	75 11	894		25 9 (61 9)	16 17	136 5	94 d, 95	407, 408 a b c (14 c d, 15, 16 a)	60 25	76
103					16 21	136 10	96 ab	408 c d (16 a b)	cf 60.27	76
104	75 13	895							60 28	77
105	75 13	895							60 29	78
106	75 14	896		25 10 (62 2)	17 2	136 15	96 c d, 97 a b	409, 410 a b (16 c d, 17)	60 31	79
vs 27	45	27	24		64	53		410 c d (18 a b)	24	80
107	75 19	900			17 9	136 22			60 35	81
Story II										
108	75 20	901			17 11	137 2	97 c d, 98 a b c	411 a b (18 c d)	61 1	82
109	75 21	901			17 14	137 4	98 c d		61 3	83

110	76 3	901			17 15	137 6	99 ab		61 7	84
111	76.4	902			17 18	137 9	99 cd	411 cd (19 ab)	61 9	85
112	76.5	903			17 21	137 14	100 a	412 a (19 c)	61 13	86
vs 28	46	28	25	123 (159)	72	59	100 bc	412 bcd (19, 20 ab)	25	87
113	76 9	906			18 21	138 8	100 d		61 21	88
Story III										
114	76.10	907		33 10 (75 9)	18 23	138 10	101 ab	cf 413 a (20 c)	61 23	89
115	76 11	907		33 11 (75 11)	19 1	138 11	101 c		61 24	90
116	76 11	907		33 12 (75 12)	19 1	138 11	101 d		61 26	91
117	76 13	908		33 12 (75 12)	19 2	138 12			61 28	92
118	76.14	909		33 13 (75 13)	19 2	138 12	102 a		61 31	92
119	77 1	909		33 13 (75 13)	19 2	138 18	102 bc		61 31	93
120	77 2	910		33 18 (76 5)	19 5	138 21	102 cd, 103 a	413 (20 cd, 21 ab)	62 1	94
121	77 4	911		33 19 (76 7)	19 6	138 23		414 ab (21 cd)	62 2	94
122	..	912		34 4 (76 11)	19 14	139 8	103 b		62 4	94
vs 29	48	cf 912 f		cf 34 4 (76 11)			cf 103 bcd	414 c (22 a)	62 5	95
123		913		34 5 (77 1)	19 15	139 9	103 cd		62 10	95
124	77 8	914		34 6 (77 2)	19 18	139 13	104 ab	414 d, 415 ab (22 bcd)	62 11	96
125	77 8	914		34 6 (77 2)	19 19	139 14	104 cd	415 bc (22 d, 23 a)	62 11	97
End of Story III										
126	77 10	916		34 8 (77 4)	19 20	139 17	105 a	415 d (23 b)	62 15	98
127	77 10	916			19 23	139 17	105 bc	416 a (23 c)	62 17	99
128	77 12	917			20 1	139 22		416 bc (23 d, 24 a)	62 19	100
129	77 13	917			20 2	139 24	105 d	416 d, 417 ab (24 bcd)	62 21	101
130	77 14	918			20 3	140 1	106 ab	417 cd (25 ab)	62 24	102
131	77 15	918			20 5	140 2			62 26	103
132	77 17	919			20 6	140 4	106 cd	418 ab (25 cd)	62 27	104
133	77 18	920			20 8	140 6			62 29	105
134	78 5	921			20 11	140 11		418 cd, 419 ab (26)	62 29	106

Reconstruction II	T II	SP II	N I	H I	Spl II	Pn II	So II	Ks II	Sy II	Ai III
End of Story II										
135	78 10	924		28 4 (66 9)	20 17	140 18	107	419 c d (27 a b)	62 34	107
136	78.10	cf 925		cf. 28 9 (67 4)	20 20	140 21	108, 109 a b c		62 36	108
137	78.11	925		28 9 (67 4)	20.17,21.21	140 19, 142 1	**110**	420 a b (27 c d)	63 1	
138	78.13			.	20 23	141 1	109 c d		63 2	109
139	78 14				..		111 a b		**63.6**	
140	78 15	926	.	28 9 (67 4)	21 21	142 1	111 c d	420 c (28 a)	63 4	110
141	78 16	926		28 10 (67.5)	21 23	142 3	112, 113	420 d (28 b)	63 7	111
142	79 3				22 3	142 7			63 21	115
143	79 5				cf 22 6, 7	cf 142 11, 12			63 23	116
144	79 8	927			22 6	142 11			63 26	116
145	79 9			.	22 7	142 12				
146	79 10	928			22 8	142 14				
147	79 11			.	22 9	142 15				
148	79 12			.	22 11	142 16				
149		929		28 11 (67 6)	22.16	142 21			63 27	117
vs 30	51	29	26	93 (122)	82	69	cf **116**		27 and 63 16	**112**
150	79 16	.		.	22 21				**63.17**	**113**
151	79 16	**926**		**28.10 (67 5)**	23 2	143 6	115 c d	421 a b (28 c d)	**63.19**	**114**
152	80 1			. .	23 21	143 23	117 a b		63 29	118
153	80 5			.	24 3	144 5	117 c d	421 c d (29 a b)	63 31	119
vs 31	52	**31**	**28**	**95 (124)**				cf 422 (29 c d, 30 a b)	28	120
vs 32	53	30	27	94 (123)	**84**	**71**			29	121
vs 33	54					**106**			**31**	**123**
vs 34	59	32	29	96 (125)		80			30	122
vs 35	61	33	30	97 (126)		81				
154	82.3	942		29 9 (68 10)		145.1				

vs 36	63	34	31			82				
155	82 7	945		29 23 (69 11)		145 7			vs 32 line 3?	125
vs 37	64	.		.	88	84				126
vs 38	65	35	32							
vs 39	66				cf 98	85			vs 32, lines 3 (?), 4	127
vs 40	67	37	34	103 (133)		86			vs 33, lines 1—11	128
vs 41	68		.			87			34	132
vs 42	69	36	33	102 (132)		88				131
156	83 10					146 6				134
vs 43	70	38	35	104 (134)		90			36	135
157	83 19	961		30 17 (71 2)		146 12				
vs 44	72	40	37	107 (138)		91			35	133
158	84 19				23 20, 24 9	146 16			65 16	136
159	85 1	964		30 25 (71 8)	25 14	146 21	114 a b		65 21	137
160	85 2	964		31 4 (71 11)	25 15	146 22	114 c d		65 23	138
161	85 2				25 16	146 23	115 a b		65 25	139
162	85 3								65 26	140
vs 45	77					.			37	142
163	85 10	965		31 4 (71 12)		151 19			65 35	141
vs 46	78	.				96			38	146
vs 47	79	42	38	109 (141)		97				145
vs 48		43	39	110 (142)	149	161				143
vs 49	80	44	40	113 (145)		98				144
164	86 3	975		31 21 (72 12)					cf 38 b	146
vs 50	83	45	41	114 (146)					39	147
165	86 11	978	.	32 7 (73 9)	30 1	153 5	119	423 (30 c d, 31 a b)	66 20 and A 122	148, 152
vs 51	85	46	42			107			41	150
vs 52	86	.				108			42	151
vs 53	87	47	43			109				

Reconstruction II	T II	SP II	N I	H I	Spl II	Pn II	So II	Ks II	Sy II	Ar III
End of Story I										
166	86.20	987		32 13, 34 12 (74.3, 7, 77 9)	30 2, 17	153 16	120 a b d	424 a b (31 c d)	A 123	153
vs 54	88	50	46	128 (166)		110			43	154
vs 55	90	41	47	129 (167)		116				
vs 56	91	51	48			117				
167	87 13	992		35 6 (78 8)	?	154 15			A 124	157
vs 57	92	52	49	130 (168)		118			A 124	157
168	87 17	995		35 10 (78 12)	31 13	154 17				
vs 58	93	54	51	132 (170)	118	111	cf 121 a		45	158
169	87 22, 26	1003		34 16 (77 12)	cf 31 18 and vs 119?	153 26		424 c d (32 a b)	cf vs 46?	159
vs 59	95	55	52	133 (171)		112			46	160
vs 60	96	59	55	135 (173)		113				161
vs 61	97	60	56	II.4 (II.4)		115				162
(vs 62)	98					120				
170	88 13	1017			31 18	154 26	121 c d		A 123 a	155
vs 63	99	61	57	136 (174)		121			44	156
vs 64	100	62	58			122				
vs 65	101	63	59			123				
vs 66	107	64	60	137 (175)		124			47	163
(171)	89 17					155 7				
vs 67	108	65	61	138 (176)	112	125			48	164
172		1032		37.20 (—)	39 6	163 1				
vs 68	113	66	62	IV.9 (IV.8)						
173		1035			39 17	163 26				
vs 69	.	67	63	140 (178)		158				

vs 70	132					.			49	165
vs 71	133					160			50	166
vs 72	141	69	65		155	131	121 b?			
174	97 7, 94 10	1044		37 16 (82 5)	40 14, cf 30 17	164 3	120 c		A 125	167
175	94 10	1044		37 21 (82 9)	40 14	164 4			A 126 1	168
176	94 11	1044		37 21 (82 9)	40 15	164 5			A 126 3	169
vs 73	123					163			51 a	170
vs 74 *	124			.		164			53	174
vs 75		70	66	150 (188)		165			52	171
vs 76	125								51 b	172
vs 77		72	68	151 (189)		166			51 b	173
177	97 8	1058		38 8 (83 5)	40 21	164 27	122	425 a b c (32 c d, 33 a)	A 127 1	175
178	97 8	1058		38 9 (83 6)	40 22	164 28			A 127 3	176
179	97.10	cf 1058		38 9 (83 7)	40 23	164 29			A 127 5	177
180	97 11	cf 1058		38 9 (83 7)	40 23	164 28			A 127 6	177
181	97 10	cf 1058		38 10 (83 7)	40 22*	164 28			A 127 6	177
182	97 11					164 29			A 127 7	178
183	97 12	1059		38 10 (83 8)	41 1	164 30	123 a		A 127 9	179
184	97 13	1059		38 11 (83 9)	41 1	164 31	123 a b		A 127 11	179
185	97 14			38 11 (83 9)		164 33			A 127 13	180
186	97 16	1060		38 12 (83 10)		164 33			A 128 1	181
187	97 17					165 2			A 128 3	
188	97 20	1063				165 4			A 128 7, 129 1	182
189	97 21	1062		38 14 (83 12)		165 6		425 d (33 b)	A 129 3	183
190	97 22	1063		38 15 (84 1)		167 6	123 c	cf 426 a (33 c)	A 129 7	184
191	98 1	1064		38 19 (84 6)	41 19	167 8	123 d, 124	426 a b (33 c d)	A 129 10	185
192	98 4	1065			42 4	167 15	125 a b	426 c d (34 a b)	A 130 1	186
193	98 4	1066			42 4	167 15		427 a (34 c)	A 130 3	187

Reconstruction II	T II	SP II	N I	H I	Spl II	Pn II	So II	Ks II	Sy II	Aı III
194	98 5	1066			42 10	167 17	125 b c d		A 130 4	188
195	98 7	1067			42 12	167 22	126 a b c	cf 427 a b (34 c d)	A 130 5	189
196	98 8	1067			42 14	167 24				note to 189
197	98 8	1068			42 15	167 24				note to 189
198	98 21	1069			43 10	168 4	126 c d	427 a b (34 c d)	A 131 1	190
(199)					43 11			427 c d (35 a b)	A 131 2,132 1	191
200	98 22	1070			43 12	168 5	127	428 a b (35 c d)	A 132 3	192
201	98 22	1070			43 17	168 6	128	428 c d (36 a b)	A 132 4	192
202	99 1	1071, cf 1068			43 18 (cf 42 15)	168 7		429 a b (36 c d)	A 132 5	192
vs 78	146					176		cf 430 (37 c d, 38 a b)	53 *bis*	193
(vs 79)	147				169				53 *bis* ?	193 ?
203	99 13	1072			43 18	168 13				
204	99 14	1072			43 20	168 14				
205	99 15	1073			43 22	168 16		cf 429 d (37 b)		
206	99 16	1074				168 17				
Story IV										
207	100 7	1075				168 21				
(208)	100 7					168 21				
209	100.9	1075				168 24				
210	101 3	1076				168 28				
211	101 4	1076				169 5		429 c d (37 a b)		
212	101 5	1077				169 6				
213	101 10	1078				169 10				
vs 80	150	74	70′			177				
214	101 16	1082				169 15				
215	101 17	1082				169 15				

216	101 18	1083				169 16				
217	101 19	1084				169 18				
218	102 2	1085				169 20				
219	102 3	1085				169 21				
220	102 6	1085				170 1				
221	103 11	1087				170 5				
222	103 14	1089				170 8		cf 429 d (37 b)		
End of Story IV										
223	103 16	1090			44 5	170 9	129	431 (38 c d, 39 a b)	A 133 1	194
224	103 17	1090			44 6	170 11		432 a b (39 c d)	A 133 2	195
225	103 17	1091			44 6, 13	170 12		432 c d (40 a b)	A 133 3	195
226	103 18	1091			44.9	170 13			A 133 4	196
227	104 1	1092			44 15	170 16			A 133 8	196
vs 81	156				171	179			54	197
(vs 82)	157					180				
vs 83	158	76	72			181			55	198
vs 84	159	75	71			182			56	199
228	104 14	1099			44 20	171 1	130 a b	433 c (41 a)	A 134 1	200
229	104 14	1099			44 20	171 1	130 c	433 a b (40 c d)	A 134 2	200
230	104 15	1101			44 23	171 3				201
231	104 16	1101			45 1	171 4			A 134 4	201
232	104 17	1102		43 1 (91 12)	45 3	171 9	130 d, 131 a b c	433 d (41 b)	A 134 5	202
233	104 19	1104		43 3 (92 1)	45 5	171 11	131 c	434 a (41 c)	A 134 7	203
vs 85	160	77	73	164 (203)	172	185			57	204
vs 86	161					187				205
vs 87	162				45 11				A 135 and vs 58	206
234	note to 105 8				45 12				A 135 a	206
vs 88		78	74	165 (204)		189				207

Reconstruction II	T II	SP II	N I	H I	Spl II	Pn II	So II	Ks II	Sy II	Ar III
vs 89		79	75	166 (205)		190				208
vs 90	163								59	209
235	105 10			43 13 (92 9)	45 16	171 30			vs 58?	206?
vs 91		80	76	167 (206)		193				
vs 92	164	81	77	168 (207)	174	194				210
vs 93	167								60	211
vs 94	169	82	78		175	186			61	212
236	note to 106 7			— (93 3)	46 4	172 12				213
vs 95	170	83	79	169 (208)	176	195				
237	106.10	1124		44 6 (93 9)	46 7	172 25	131 d	434 b c (41 d, 42 a)	A 136, 137 1	214, 216
238	106 11	1126		44 8 (93 12)	46 20	172 27	132 a b	434 c d (42 a b)	A 137 1	217
239	106 12	1126		44 9 (93 13)	46 22	172 28	132 c d	434 e f (42 c d)	A 137 3	218
240	106 13	1127		44 10 (94 1)	46 23	172 29	133	435 (43) a b c	A 137 6	219
241	106 14	1128		44 11 (94 2)	47 1	172 30	134	435 (43) d	A137 5,11	218, 221
242	106 15			— (94 2)		172 32	135	436 (44) a b c	A 137 8	220
243	106.16	1129		44 12 (94 3)	47 7	172 33	cf 133	cf 435 (43) a b c	A 137 14	222
244	106 17	cf 1129		44 14 (94 6)	47 12	173.3	cf 134, 135	cf 435 (43) d	cf A137 17	223
245	106 18	cf 1129		44 15 (94 8)	47 14	173 2	cf 135	cf 436 (44) b c		222?
246	106 18	1130		44 16 (94 9)	47 15	173 5	136		A 137 16	224
247	107 1	1130		44 21 (94 13)	47 22	173 9	137, 138, 139		A 137 20	225
vs 96	171				48 2	199	140	436 (44) c d	63	226
Colophon	107 6	1132		— (95 9)	48 6	173 13		Colophon		227

Reconstruction III	T III	SP III	N III	H	Spl III	Pn III	So III	Ks III	Sy VI	A1 IV
1	A 197	1133			49 1	174 2				x
vs 1	1	1	1		1	1			1	x
2		1136			49 7	174 8			A 167	x
3	A 198 1	1137, vs 2	2		49 8	174 9	5	437 (1) a	A 168 1	x
4	A 198 2	1140			49 10	174 10	6 a b	437 (1) b c d	A 168 3	x
5	A 198 2	1140			49 12	174 11	6 c d	438 (2) a b	A 168 4	x
6	A 198.3	1141			49.13	174 12	6 d, 7	438 (2) b c d	A 168 6	x
7	A 199 1	1144			50 1	174 18	8 a b	439 (3)	A 169 1	x
8	A 199 2, A 200 end	1146			50 1	174 18	9		A 169 6, A 170	x
9	A 201 1	**1144**			50 16	175 6	**8 b**	cf 439 (3) b	A 171 1	x
10	A 201 2				50 17	175 7			A 171 2	x
11	A 201 3	1148			50 18	175 8	10	440 (4) a	A 171 4	x
12	A 202 1	1149			52 10	176 5	11 a	cf 440 (4) b	A 172 1	x
13	A 202 1	1150					11 b c d	440 (4) b	A 172 2	x
14	A 203a 1	1157			53 21	176 32	**14 a**	cf 440 (4) c	A 173 1	x
15	A 203a 1	1157					**14 b c d**	440 (4) c	A 173 2	x
vs 2	2									x
16	A 203 b	1159					cf **14 b c d**	cf 440 (4) c	cf A 173 2	x
17	A 204 1	1159			55 5	177 25	12 a	cf 440 (4) d	A 174 1	x
18	A 204 2						12 b c d		A 174 3	x
vs 3	3						cf 12 c		2	x
vs 4	4									x
19	A 205	1160					13	440 (4) d	A 175	x
20	A 206	1162			57 7	178 33	cf **17 a?**		A 176	x
21	A 207 a	1163, 1171 1174					15 a	441 (5) a b c	A 177	x

Reconstruction III	T III	SP III	N III	H	Spl III	Pn III	So III	Kṣ III	Sy VI	Ai IV
vs 5	6	8	7						3	x
vs 6	7									x
vs 7	8	10	.							?
vs 8	10	11	9					.		
vs 9	11	9	8						4	x
vs 10	12	13	11	.					5	x
(vs 11)	13								6?	?
vs 12	14				.				7	x
vs 13	16	14	12	.						
vs 14	17	15	13							
22	A 207 b	1197	.						A 178	x
23	A 208								A 179	x
vs 15	20	16	15						cf 7?	?
vs 16	21	.	.				.		9	x
vs 17	22								8	x
vs 18	23	20	18					. . . . .		
vs 19	26	.	.						10	x
24	A 209	1204?				..	. .	. .	10 part, A 180	x
vs 20	29	21	19						11	
vs 21	30	19	17							
vs 22	31								13	x
vs 23	33						.	.	14	x
vs 24	34			.					12 a and b?	x
vs 25	36	17	16				16 a b		15	x
vs 26	37								16	x

vs 27	38								17	x
vs 28	39								18	x
vs 29	40								19	x
(25)	A 210								A 181 1 ?	?
vs 30	41								21	x
vs 31	42								20	?
vs 32	45	24	22						22	x
26		1219					**15 b c d**		**A 181.2**	x
27	A 211	**1164**							vs 23, A 182	x
28	A 212	1171, 1220			59 12	180 9	16 c d, 17	442 (6) a b c	A 183 1	x
29	A 212 end	1220			59 13	180 9	18 a b c	441 (5) d, 442 (6) c d, 443 (7) a b c	A 183 5	x
vs 33	47	26	24	III 9	IV 45	IV 43	18 c d	443 (7) c d		
30	A 213	1223								
Story I										
31	116 2	1224		90 5 (64 1)	19 10	247 18	19 a b	**444 (8) b**		
32	116 2	1224		90 6 (64 2)	19 10	247 19	19 c d	444 (8) a		
33	116 6	1225		90 7 (64 3)	19 14	247 22	20 a b	cf 445 (9)		
34	116 7	1226		90 8 (64 5)			20 c d, 21	445 (9)		
35	116 9	1227		90 9 (64 6)	19 16	248 3	22	446, 447 (10, 11)		
36	116 13	1228		90 11 (64 9)	19 18	248 4	23 a b c	448 (12) a b		
End of Story I										
37	A 214	1230			19 20	248 7	23 d	448 (12) c d		
38	A 214	1230					24 a b		cf A 183 and A 184	x
Story II										
39	117 1	1232			59 14	180 12	24 c d, 25 a b c	449 (13) a b	94 11	x
40	117 2	1233			60 6	181 5	25 d			
41	117 4	1233			60 12	181 15	26 a b	449 (13) c d	94 14	x

Reconstruction III	T III	SP III	N III	H	Spl III	Pn III	So III	Ks III	Sy VI	Ar IV
42	117 8	1234			61 1	182 7	26 b c d, 27	449 d, 450 (13 d, 14)	94 18	x
vs 34	48				78	68	cf 27	cf 450 (14)	24	x
vs 35	49	27			79	69	cf 27	cf 450 (14)	cf 94 18, vs 24	x
43	117 15	cf 1234			61 15	182 21	cf 28 a b	cf 451 (15)		x
vs 36	50	28	25	III 13	82	72	28 a b	451 (15)	25	x
44	117 18	1240			61 21	183 4	28 c d		p 94 bottom	x
Story III										
45	117.19	1241		91 18 (65 12)	62 1	183 8	30 a b	452 (16) a b	95 3	x
46	117 19	1241		91 18 (65 13)	62 2	183 5	cf 30 a	452 (16) c	95 4	x
47	118 1	1241		91 18 (65 13)	61.22 62 2	183.6, 9	30 b c	452 (16) c d	95 6	x
48	118 2	1241		91 18 (65 14)	62 3	183 10		453 (17) a b	95 7	x
49	118 4	1245				183 12		453 (17) c d	95 9	x
50	118 5	1245		91 20 (66 2)	62 5	183 13	29 a b	454 (18) a b, d	95 10	x
51	118 6	1247		cf 91 20 (66 2)	62 7	184 1	30 c d	454 (18) b c	95 13	x
52	118 7	1247		91 21 (66 3)	62 8	184 2	31	455 (19) a b	95 14	x
53	118 8				62 8, 12	184 4	32 a b		95 17	
54	118.9	1248		92 1 (66 4)	62 12	184 5	29 c d, 32 b c d, 33	455 (19) c	95 18	x
55	118 11	1251		92 3 (66 6)		184 8	cf 32 c d	cf 455 (19) c d	95 22	x
56	118 13	1252				184 11			95 26	x
vs 37	51	30				73	34 c d, 35 a b		26	x
vs 38	52					74	34 d			
57	119.1					184 19				
vs 39	53					75			28	x
vs 40	54					76				x
58	119 8					185 4	34 a		vs 27	x
vs 41	p 119 n 8					77	34 a b ?		27	x
(vs 42)	p 119 n 8					78				

59	119 9	1256		92 4 (66 7)	64 2		35 c d	455 (19) c d	p 95 bottom	x
60	119 10	1256		92 5 (66 8)	64 3	185 11	36 a b c	456 (20) a b	p 95 bottom	x
61	119 10	1256		92 5 (66 8)		185 20	36 c d		p 95 bottom	x
vs 43	55	31	26	III 14	83	185 21			29	x
62	119 14	1261		92 10 (66 12)	64 3	185 22	37 a b	456 (20) d	96 9	x
63	119 15	1261		92 11 (66 13)	64 4	185 23				
64	119 16	1262		92 11 (66 13)	64 6	186 1	37 c d	456 (20) c	96 12	x
vs 44	120 n. 1	32		III 15		79			96 12	x
65	120 1	1266		92 15 (67 3)		186 8	37 d		96 16	x
vs 45	56	33				80			30	x
66	120 5	1269		92 15 (67 3)	64.4	186 12	38 a b, 39 c		96 24	x
67	120 5	1269		92 15 (67 4)	64 5, 10	186 12	38 c d, 39 c d	457 (21) b c	cf 96 24	x
68	120 6	1270		92 16 (67 5)		186 15	39 a b	457 (21) a		
69	120 7				64 11	186 15	40 a b	457 (21) d	96 25	x
70	120 10	1270		92 17 (67 5)	64 12, 15	186 22	40 c d	458 (22) a	96 30	x
71	120 11	1271		92 18 (67 6)	64 13, 15	186 23	41 a b			
72	120 12	1271		92 18 (67 7)	64 13	187 2	41 c d		96 27	x
73	120 13	1273		92 19 (67 9)	64 17	187 3	42	458 (22) b c	96 30	x
74	120 14				64 19	187 6		458 (22) d	96 34	x
75	120 15			cf 92 19 (67 9)		187 7		459 (23) a b	96 36	x
(76)	121 2				cf 64 20	187 9				
77	121 3					187 11			96 37	x
78	121 5	1274		92 20 (67 10)	64 21	187 13	43 a b		97 1	x
79	121 6	1274		92 21 (67 11)	cf 64 21	187 15	cf 43 d ?		97 3	x
80	121 7	1275		92 21 (67 12)	64 21	187 17	43 c d	459 (23) c d		x
End of Story III										
81	121 9	1276			64 23	187 18	45	460 (24) a b	97 6	x
82	121 9	1276			65 3	187 18	46 a b	460 (24) c d	97 6	x
vs 46	57	34	27		91	81	46 c d	cf 460 (24) c d	31	x

Reconstruction III	T III	SP III	N III	H	Spl III	Pn III	So III	Ks III	Sy VI	A1 IV
83	121 13	1280			65 6	187 24			97 15	x
Story IV										
84	121 14	1281	.		65 8	188 2	47 a b	.	97 18	x
85	121.14	1281			65 8	188 2	47 b c d		97 18	x
86	121 15	cf 1281		.	65 9	188 3			97 19	x
87	121 17	1282			65 12	188 6	48 a b c		97 20	x
88	121 17	1282			65 13	188 8	**48 b**		97 22	x
89	122 2	1283			65 17	188 11	48 c d		97 25	x
90	122 n 3	cf 1283			65 18	188 13			97 26	x
91	122 4	1284			65 19	188 13	49 a		97 28	x
92	122 4	1285			66 2	188 18	49 b c d	461 (25) a b	97 29	x
93	122.5	1285			66 3	188 20	cf 49 b c d	cf 461 (25) a b	97 30	x
94	122 6	**1289**			**66 12**	{ 188 21 / **189 13** }	50 a		97 32, vs 32	x
vs 47	58	35	28		93	83				
95	122 10	1289	.		66 14	189 16	50 b		**98 5**	x
96	122 10	1289	.	.	66 14	189 17	50 c d		**98 5**	x
97	122 11	1290	.	. . .		189 18		.	97 34	x
98	122 12	1290			**67 15**	{ 189 20 / **190 23** }	cf 51, **52 a b**	461 (25) c d	97 36	x
99	122 14	1292	.		**67 16**	{ 189 23 / **190 24** }				
(vs 48)	59		.			87		.		
100	122.18	. .			66 15	190 3	51	462 (26) a b c	98 6	x
101	123 2	1294	.		67 18	191 2	52 c d, 53 a b		98 8	x
102	123 3	1294			68 9	191 17	53 c d, 54 a b		98 12	x
103	123 4	1296	.		cf 68 9	cf 191 17		462 (26) d	98 15	x

vs 49	60	36	29				54 c d		33	λ
vs 50	61	37	30						34, 35	λ
vs 51	62	38	31		**68 4**	**191 11**		463 (27)		
vs 52	63	39	32						36	λ
104	123 14	1305			68 19	192 5	55	464 (28) a b c	p 98 bottom	x
End of Story IV										
105	123 18	1306			68 22	192 8	56 a b	464 (28) c d	99 1	λ
106	123 18	1306			69 2	192 8	56 c d	465 (29) a	99 2	x
107 •	124 1	1307			69 3	192 11	57	465 (29) b c	99 4	x
108	124 3	1308			69 5	192 13	cf 58 d		99 5	x
109	124 5	1308			69 11	192 20			99 6	λ
vs 53	65	40	33		111	99			37	λ
110	124 9	cf 1312			**69 12**	**192 21**	58 a b c	465 (29) c d	99 22	λ
111	124 9				69 15	193 1	58 c d		99 23	λ
112	124 10				69 15	193 1	59 a b		99 25	x
vs 54	66				112	100	59 c d		39	λ
vs 55	67				113 ●	101	59 c d		40	λ
113	124 20								100 7	x
vs 56	68					103			42	λ
114	125 5				70 3	193 20			100 15	x
End of Story II										
115	A 215 1	1312			70 3	193 21	60 a b	cf 465 (29) c d	A 185 1	λ
116	A 215 1	1313			70 4	193 21			A 185 3	x
117	A 215 2	1314			70 5	193 22	60 c d		A 186 1	λ
118	A 215 3	1314					61 a b			
119	A 216	1317			{ 70 5 { **72 8**	193 22, } **196 11** }		466 (30) a b	A 186 3	λ
vs 57	69	41	34	IV 56 (IV 53)	114	104	61 c d	466 (30) c d	43	x
120	A 217	1321			70 10	194 3			A 187	x

Reconstruction III	T III	SP III	N III	H	Spl III	Pn III	So III	Ks III	Sy VI	Ar IV
Story V										
121	125 16	1322		143 7 (129 14)	70 12	194 5	62 a b	467 (31) a b	p 100 bottom	x
122	125 17	1322		143 8 (130 2)	70 18	194 12	62 c d	467 (31) b c	cf p 100 bottom	x
123	125 17	1323		143 9 (130 3)	70 22	194 17		467 (31) d	p 100 bottom	x
124	125 18			143 10 (130 5)	70 22	194 16	63	468, 469 a b (32, 33 a b)	101 1	x
125	126.3			143 11 (130 6)	71 6	194 23	64 a b			x
126	126 4			143 12 (130 7)	71 8	195 1	64 c d	469 (33) b c d, 470 (34) a b	101 3	x
127	126 7			143 12 (130 8)	71 14	195 8	65 a b	470 c d, 471, 472 a b (34 c d, 35, 36 a b)		
128	126 9	1325		146 12 (133 9)	71 16	195 10	65 c d, 66	472 c d e f, 473 (36 c d, 37, 38 a b)	101 4	x
129	126 12	1327		146 13 (133 9)	71 21	195 16	67	474, 475 a b (38 c d, 39)	101 8	x
130	126 15	1328		146 13 (133 10)	71 22	195 17	68 a b	475 c d (40 a b)	101 11	x
131	126 16	1329		146 14 (133 10)	71 22	195 18	68 c d	476 a b (40 c d)	101 12	x
End of Story V										
132	A 218.1	1330			71 23	195 20	69	476 c d (41 a b)	A 188 1	x
133	A 218.1	.			72 6	196 9	70 a b	477 a (41 c)	A 188 2	x
134	A 218.2	1330			72 9	196 12	70 c d, 71 a	477 b c d (41 d, 42 a b)	A 188 3	x
135	A 218 3	1332			72 12, 18	196 14, 19	71 b		A 188 9	x
136	A 219.1	1333			73 9, 16	197 4, 9	71cd, 72, 73abc	478 a b c (42 c d, 43 a)	A 189 1	x
137	A 219.1	1334			73 17	197 9	73 c d		A 189 2	x
138	A 219 2	1334				197 13			A 189 3	x
vs 58	70	42				114				
(139)	A 220 a 1					197 17				

140	A 220 a 1	1337			73.23	197 18	74 a b	.	A 190a 1	x
141	A 220 a 2	1337			73 23	197 18	cf 74 c d	cf 478 cd (43 a b)	A 190a 2	x
142	A 220 a. 3	1338					74 c d, 75 a	478 c d (43 a b)	A 190a 5	x
143	A 220 a 4	1338			74 1	197 19	75 c d, 76 a	.	A 190a 8	x
144	A 220 a. 4	1339			74 4	197 21	75 a b, 76 a b		A 190a 11	x
145	A 220 a 5	1340			74 5	197.22	. .		A 190a 15	x
146	A 220 a. 7	.			74.7	197 24	76 c d		A 190a 18	x
147	A 220 a. 8	1340			74 7	197 24	77, 78		A 190a.21	x
vs 59	71	. .			126	115	,		44	x
148	A 220 b	1341			74 16	197 30	79, 80		A 190 b	λ
149	A 221 1	1342			74 19	197 33	81		A 191 1	λ
150	A 221 2	1342			74 21	198 3	102 a b c		A 191 2	x
151	A 221 2	1343			74 23	198 3	102 d	479 b c (43 d, 44 a)	A 192 1	x
vs 60	73	43	35			116				x
152	A 222					198 7			A 193	λ
vs 61	74	44	36			117			45	λ
153	A 223	1348				200 15			A 192.3	λ
154	A 224	1349			78 15	200 16	101	479 a (43) c	A 194	x
vs 62	76				155	.			46, part	λ
(vs 63)	77	I. 104	II.82	IV 61 (IV 58)	156	.				
155	A 225 a	1350				200 17 205.2	82 a b c	479 d, 480 a b (44 b c d)	cf vs 46	x
vs 64	78	46	37			120				
vs 65	β 82	47	38		IV. 76	166	82 c d	480 c d (45 a b)	A 195 vs 47	x
156	163 4	1357				205 6				
vs 66	β 83	48'				167				
157	βA 225 bb	1360				205 9			A 196	x

Reconstruction III	T III	SP III	N III	H	Spl III	Pn III	So III	Ks III	Sy VI	Ar IV
Story VI										
158	163 12	1361			Bk IV 30 6	205 12	83	481 a b c (45 c d, 46 a)	103 24	x
159	163 13	1361			30 9	205 14	84	481 c d (46 a b)	103 25	x
160	163 15	1362			30 20	205 25	85 a b	482 a b (46 c d)	103 28	x
161	163.15	1363			30 21	206 1	85 c d	482 b c d (46 d, 47 a b)	103 30	x
162	164 1	1363			30 22	206 2	86	483 (47 c d, 48 a b)	103 32	x
163	164 3	1364			31 3	206 6	87	**483 c**, 484 (**48a** c d, 49 a b)	103 36, vs 48	x
164	164.4	1364				206 7				
End of Story VI										
165	β A 225 ba	1365				206 9	88 a b	485 a b (49 c d)		
166	α A 225 b β A 225 ba					206 9	88 a, c d, **90 b**	485 c d (50 a b)		
167	A 226	1367				206 12	89, 90 a b	. .	A 197	x
vs 67	79	49	39			170	90 c d	486 a b (50 c d)	49	x
168	A 227	1371				206 16	91 a b		A 198	x
Story VII										
169	129 12	1372				206 18	91 c d		104 20	x
170	129.13	1372				206 23	92 a b		104 21	x
171	129.14	1373				207 1	cf 93 a b		cf 104 21	x
172	129 14	1373				207.1	cf. 93 c	.	104 22	x
173	129.15	1373				207 4	cf 93 c		104 25	x
174	129 15	1374				207 5	cf 93 c		104 26	x
175	129.16	1374				207 5	cf 93 c			
176	129 16	1375				207 6	93 c		**104.29**	x
177	129.17	1376				207 8	**92 c d**		104 27	x
178	129 18	1377				207 10	93 d, **96 a b**	486 c d, 487 a (51 a b c)	104 31	x

179	129 19	1377				207 11			104 31	x
180	130 1	1378				207 12	cf 94		cf 104 34	x
181	130 2	1378				207 13	95		105 1	x
182		1379				207 15	**94**		**104.34**	x
183	130.3	1380				207 18	96 b c d	487 b c (51 d, 52 a)	105 6	λ
184	130 4	**1381**				207 19		487 d, 488 b (52 b, d)	**105.8**	x
185	130 5	1381				207 20		488 a (52 c)	105 7	\
186						207 21	97 a b c	488 c d (53 a b)	105 9	λ
187	130 6	..					97 c d		105 11	x
End of Story VII										
188	A 228	1384				208 1	98		A 199	x
(189)	A 228					208 1				
vs 68	80	1384	[1]			171	100			
190	A 230	1385				208 4				
191	A 231	1385				208 5 209 19	**99**	489 a b c (53 c d, 54 a)		
192	A 232	1387				209 19	103	489 c d, 490 (54, 55 a b)	A 200	λ
vs 69	81	50	40	III 24	IV 48	174	104 a b	491 (55 c d, 56 a b)	50, 51	x
193	A 233	1391				209 25			A 201	\
Story VIII										
194	132 8	1392		96 12 (72 6)	Bk IV 20 22	210 2	104 c		p 105 bottom	\
195	132 8	1392		96 12 (72 7)	20 22	210 2	104 d, 105 a b	**492 c (57 a)**	p 105 bottom	λ
196	132.9	1392		96 14 (72 8)	21 1, 17	210 3, 10	105 c d, 106	492 a b c (56 c d, 57 a)	p 105 bottom	x
197	132 11	1393			21 19	210 12	107 a b		106 4	x

[1]) See note to SP III, vs 49, on p 132 of Hertel's edition of SP

Reconstruction III	T III	SP III	N III	H	Spl III	Pn III	So III	Ks III	Sy VI	Ar IV
198	132 11	1394		96 14 (72 9)	21 23	210 17	107 b	**491 b (56 d)**	106 5	x
199	132 13	1394		96,14 (72 9)	**22 4**	**210 21**	107 c d, 108 a b	492 d, 493 a b (57 b c d)	106 8	x
200	132 14	1395		96 15 (72 10)	21 23, 22 6	210 17 211 1	108 c d	493 c (58 a)	106 10	x
201	132,16	1395		97 1 (72 12)	22 10	211 7	109 a b c	493 c d, 494 a (58 a b c)	106 16	x
202	132 17	1396		97 2 (72 13)	22 11	211 7	109 c d	494 a b (58 c d)	106 19	x
203	132,18	1397		97 6 (73 5)			110		106 20	x
204	132 19	1398		97 7 (73 5)			111 a b		106 22	x
205	132,19	1398		97 7 (73 6)			112 a b		106 22	x
206	132 20						112 c d			
207	132,21	1399		97 16 (73 14)			**111 c d**	494 c d (59 a b)	106 26	x
208	133 1	1400		98 7 (74,10)	23 6	212 3	113	495 a b (59 c d)	106 31	x
209	133 2	1400		98 7 (74 10)			114		106 33	x
210	133 3	1400		98 8 (74 11)	23 15	212 11	115, cf **116 cd**	495 c d (60 a b)		
End of Story VIII										
211	A 234	1402			23 15	212 12	116	496 a b (60 c d)	A 202 1	x
212	A 234					212 12	117	496 c d (61 a b)	A 202 1	x
(vs 70)	82				**168**	178, 197			52, end?	
(vs 71)	83					179				
213	A 235 a	1402				212 18	118, 119, 120 a b		A 203	x
214	A 235 b 1	1403				212 19	120 c d, 121	497, 498 a b (61 c d, 62)	A 204 end, A 205 1, 9	x
215	A 235 b 2	1405				212 21	**123 c d**			
216	A 235 b 3	1406				212 21	122	498 c d (63 a b)	A 205 4	x
217	A 235 b 5	1407				212 23	123 a b	499 a b (63 c d)	p 108 1	x
vs 72	84								53	x
218	A 236	1407				212 23	124 a b	499 c d (64 a b)	A 206	x

vs 73	85	51	41		IV 56	180	124 c d	500 a b (64 c d), 507 (—)	54	✓
219	A 237	1410				212 28	.		A 207	x
Story IX										
220	134 1	1411			Bk IV 24 8	213 2	125 a	500 c (65 a)	108 20	x
221	134 1	1411			24 9	213 8	125 b c	500 d (65 b)	108 22	x
222	134 2	cf 1412				213 9			108 25	✓
223	134 3						125 c	501 a (65 c)	108 27	x
224	134.4	1412			27 1	213 10	125 d	501 a b (65 c d)	108 32	x
225	134.5	1412				213 11			108 35	x
226	134 6	1412			27 4	213 12	126 a	501 b (65 d)	108 36	x
227	134 7	1413			27 12	213 13	126 a b	501 c d (66 a b)	109 1	✓
vs 74	86	52	42			188			55	
228	134 11	1413			27 17	214 13	126 c d	501 d (66 b)	109 7	x
vs 75	87	53	43		I 281, II 27	190				
229	134 14	1419			28 8	214 21	126 d, 127 c	502 a (66 c)	109 13	✓
230	134 14	1419			28 14	214 24	127 a b	502 b c (—)	109 13	x
231	134 15	1420					127 d	502 (66) d	109 16	x
232	134 15	1420			28 19	215 6	128 a b	503 (67) a b	109 17	x
233	134 17	1420			28 20	215 7	128 c d, 129 a	503 (67) c	109 19	x
234	134 17	1420			28 22	215 11	129 b c d	503 (67) c d	109 20	x
235	135.1	1421			28 23	215 12	130 a b c	504 (68) a	109 22	x
236	135 1	1421			29 3	215 15	130 d, 131 a b	504 (68) a b	109 23	✓
237	135 3	1421			29 5	215 16	131 c d, 132 a	504 (68) c	109 26	x
238	135 3	1422			29 8	215 20	132 b c d	504 (68) c d	109 27	x
239	135 5	1422			29 9	215 20	133, 134 a	505 (69) a b	109 29	x
240	135 6	1422					134 b c d	505 (69) b c d	109 32	x
241	135 6	1423			29 13	216 1	135	506 (70) a b	109 35	x

Reconstruction III	T III	SP III	N III	H	Spl III	Pn III	So III	Kṣ III	Sy VI	A1 IV
End of Story IX										
242	A 238	1425		.	29 20	216 3	136	506 (70) c d		x
243	A 238	1425			80 16	216 3	138 c d, 139	508 (71)	A 208	x
244		..				216 4	137 a b			
vs 76	88				80 19	192	137 c d, 138 a	cf 508 (71) b		
245	A 239					216 8	138 b			
246	A 240 1	1425			80 21	216 9			cf A 208 2	x
247	A 240.1	1427			80 22	216 10				
248	A 240.2	1426				216 16	140 a b		A 208 2	x
(249)	A 241, 242				81 5, 82 16	217 22 219 5		509 (72)		
250	A 243	1427		.	82 18	216 17 219 7	140 c d	510 (73) a b	56 a, A 209	x
vs 77	90	54	44					cf 510 (73) a b	cf 56 a	x
251	A 244 1	1431			83 4	219 15	144	510 (73) c	A 210	x
252	A 244 1	1433			83 13	219 23			A 211 1	x
253	A 244 3	1433			83 14	219 24			A 211 3	x
254	A 244 3	1434			83 11	219 21	145 c d		A 211 3	x
255	A 244 4	1435					145 a b		A 211 7	x
256	A 244 4	1435		.	83 12	219 22	146		A 211 9	x
257	A 244 4	1436			84 1	220 1	147	510 (73) d	A 212 1	x
258	A 245	.			84 4	220 3	148	511 (74) a b	A 212 4	x
259	A 246	1438			84 6	220 5	149 a b c	511 (74) c d, 512 (75)	A 213 1	x
vs 78	92					210		cf 512 (75) d		x
260	A 247	1439			84 8	220 9	149 d	513 (76) a	A 213 2	x
vs 79	93	.				202			60	x
vs 80	94	55	45		172	203			61	

vs 81	95	56	46		•	204		513 (76) a b	58	x
vs 82	96	57	47		174	205				
vs 83	97	58	48			206				
vs 84	98	59	49		175	207				
261	A 248	1458				220 32			(A 214) vs 59?	x
vs 85	99	•			Hamb mss 159				59	x
262	A 249	1459				220 33	150, 151		vs 62 A 215 a, b	x
vs 86	100	60	50		Hamb mss 162	208			63	λ
vs 87	101								64	λ
vs 88	102	61	51		Hamb mss 163	209			65, 66	λ
vs 89	103	62	52			210				x
vs 90	104	63	53		Hamb mss 160	211			67	x
vs 91	105	64	54		Hamb mss 161	212				λ
vs 92	106	65	55							x
263	A 250					221 19			A 217, vs 68	x
vs 93	107	66	56	IV 65 (IV 61)		213	152 a b	513 (76) c d	69	x
264	A 251	1481				221 23			A 218	λ
Story X										
265	139 4	1482		147 10 (134 4)		221 25	152 c, 153 a	514 (77) a	113 6	x
266	139 4	1482		147 10 (134 5)		221 26	152 c d	514 (77) b	113 7	x
267	139 5	1482		147 11 (134 6)		221 27	153 a b	514 (77) a, c	113 9	x
268	139 6	1483		147 11 (134 6)		221 28	153 c d, 154		113 13	λ

Reconstruction III	T III	SP III	N III	H	Spl III	Pn III	So III	Ks III	Sy VI	Ar IV
269	139 7	1484		147 12 (134 7)		222 1	154 d	514 (77) c	113 14	x
270	139 8	1485				222 2	155 b		113 28	x
271	p 139, n 8					222 4	155 c		113 29	x
272	p 139, n 8	1486				222 5	155 a c	514 (77) d	113 30	x
273	139 9					222 7	155 d		113 32	x
274	139 9	1486		151 11 (139 6)		222 7	156 a	515 (78) a	113 33	x
275	139 10	1486		151 12 (139 7)		222 8	156 b	515 (78) a b	113 34	x
276	p 139, n 11	1486				222 10			113 36	x
277	139 11	1487		151.20 (139 15)		222 10	156 c d		114 2	x
278	139 11	1487		152 1 (140 1)		222 12			113.19	x
279	139 12	1488		152 2 (140 2)		222 14	157	515 (78) c d, 516 (79) a	113 23, 114 6	x
(280)	139 13	.				222 16	cf 158 a b?			
281	140 2	1489		152 2 (140 3)		222 18	158 a b	516 (79) b	114 6	x
282	140 2					222 19			114.3	x
vs 94	108	.				214			70	x
283	140 6	1489		152 3 (140 4)		222 22	158 c	516 (79) c d		
284	140 7	1490		152 4 (140 5)		222 24	158 d, 159 a b	516 (79) c d	114 7	x
285	140 8	1491		152 5 (140 6)		223 1	160		114.10	x
286	140 8	cf 1491		cf. 152 5 (140 6)		223 2	159 c d		114 9	x
287	140.10	1491		152.6 (140 6)		223 4	161 a b	517 (80) a b c	cf 114 10	x
288	140 10	1492		152 7 (140 7)		223 5				.
vs 95	109	.				215				
289	140 14	1494				224 24				
290	140 15	1494				225 2				
vs 96	111	67	57							
291	141 1	1498				225 3	161 c d			
292	141.1	1498		152 7 (140 8)		225 5				x

End of Story X										
293	A 252	1499				225 7	162 a b	517 (80) c d	114 13	x
294	A 252	1499			cf 85 4	225 7	162 c d		A 219	x
vs 97	112	68	58		Hamb mss 166	217			71	x
295	A 253	•				225 11			?	?
vs 98	113				176	218				?
296	A 254				85 13	225 14			A 219.4 A 219 a	
vs 99	114	69	59		178	219			72	x
297	A 256	1505			85 23	225 17			A 220	x
vs 100	117								73	x
(vs 101)	118						163 ?		74 ?	?
vs 102	119	70	60						75	x
vs 103	121	71	61							
298	A 257	1514				225 17			A 221	x
vs 104	122	72	62		179	220				
vs 105	123	73	63		1. 206 ᴗ				76	λ
299	A 258	1521				225 23				
vs 106	124	74	64		180	221				
300	A 259	1526				225 28				
vs 107	125	75	65			222				
301	A 260					226 1			A 222, A 223	x
vs 108	126					223			77	x
302	A 261					226 7				λ
vs 109	127					224				?'
(303)	A 262					226 13				
(vs 110)	128					225				
304	A 263					226 18				x

Reconstruction III	T III	SP III	N III	H	Spl III	Pn III	So III	Ks III	Sy VI	Ai IV
(vs 111)	129					226				?
(vs 112)	130			.		227				?
305	A 264					226 25			A 224	x
vs 113	131			.				.	78	x
306	A 265	.		.		226 25	**166, 167**	523 (86)	A 225	x
vs 114	132					228		.	79	x
(vs 115)	133	.				229		.		
307	A 266	1529				226 33	164		A 228	x
(vs 116)	135			.	. **V. 67**	230				
(308)	A 267					227 10				
vs 117	136	76	66		**V. 68**	231			80	
(vs 118)	137			.		232			80?	
vs 119	138					234			81	
vs 120	140	77	67							
vs 121	143	78	68							
309	A 268	1540				227 25	165			?
Colophon	147.18	1541			86 22	227 31				x
Book IV*	IV	IV	IV		IV	IV	IV	IV	III	V
1	A 272	1542			1 1	228 2				
vs 1	1	1	1			1			1	2
2		1545			1 5	228 5				
3	A 273 1	1546			1 6	228 6	97 a, cd		A 140 1	4
4	A 273 1	1546					97 b		A 140 2	4
5	A 274 1	1547					97 c	524 (1) e	A 141 1	5
6	A 274.1	1548					98 a b		A 141 3	5
7	A 274 2	1548					99 a b		A 141.5	7

8	A 274 2	1549					99 c d		A 141 5,7	7
9	A 275 1	1551			1 7	228 7	98 c d	cf 524 (1) c	A 141.3	6
10		1551					100 a b c	. .	A 142 1	8
11	A 275 1	cf 1552					100 d	524 (1) a b, d	A 142 4	9
12	A 275 2	1552					101 a b c	525 (2) a	A 142 5	10
13	A 276.1	1553					102 a b c	525 (2) a b	A 143 1	10
14	A 276 2	1554					cf 102 a		A 143 5	11
15	A 276 3	1554							A 143 6	11
16	A 276 4	.							A 143 9	11
17	A 277	1556					102 d	525 (2) c d	A 144	12
18	A 278.1	1555, 1558					101 d, 103	526 (3) a b	A 145 1	13, 14
19	A 278.2						104 a b	.	A 145 5	15
20	A 278 3	1559					104 c d	526 (3) b	A 145 7	15
21	A 278 4	1559							A 145 8	15
22	A 278 5	1560							A 145 11	16
23	A 278.6	1561							A 145 12	16
24	A 278 6	1561					105, 106	526 (3) c d	A 145 14	17
25	A 279	1564					107, 108 a b		A 146	18
vs 2	2	1566					108 c d		2	18
vs 3	3								3	19
26	A 280	1565							A 147	20
vs 4	4	1567					118?	.	4	20
27	A 281 1	1567			3 13	229 25	110 a b	527 (4) a	A 148 1	21
28	A 281 1	1568			3 14	229 26			A 148 1	21
29	A 281 2	1568			3 19	229 29	110 c d		A 148 3	22
vs 5	5	2							5	23
30	A 282								A 148 a	
vs 6	6								6	24
31	A 283	1572							A 149	25

Reconstruction IV	T IV	SP IV	N IV	H	Spl IV	Pn IV	So IV	Ks IV	Sy III	A1 V
vs 7	7	3	3							
32	A 284 1	•		•					A 150 1	26
vs 8							112		A 150 1	26
33	A 284 1	cf 1568					111 a b		A 150 5	26
34	A 284 1			•					A 150, end	27
vs 9	8			•• •					7	27
35	A 285	•		•					A 150 a	28
vs 10	9			•					8	28
vs 11	10									29
36	A 286.1	1575			4 13	230 9	111 c d			30
37	A 286 3				4 15	230 10				31
38	A 286 4	1575					113		A 151, vs 9	32
vs 12	11	4		•						33
vs 13		5	4							34
39		1582					114			35
40		1584								36
41	A 287	1585			4 16	230 11	115, 116	527 (4)	A 152	37—41
42	A 288 1	1589					117	528 (5) a b		42
vs 14		6	2							43
43	A 288 1 290, 291.1	1595			5 3	230 19	119, 120 a b	528 (5) b c	A 153	44
vs 15	13	7								40
44	A 291.1				5 5	230 21	120 c d		A 154 1	45
45		1599		•					A 154 3	45
46	A 291 2	1599			5 5	230 21	121	532 a b (8 c d)	A 155	46
47	A 292 1	1600			5 8	230 24	122 a b		A 156 1	47
48	A 292 1	1602			5 8	230.24	122 c d, 123 a	532 c d (9 a b)	A 156 2	47

49	A 292 2	1602			5 15	230 30			A 156 3	48
50	A 292 3	1603			5 16	230 31	123 b c d, 124 b	532 d, 533 a b (9 b c d)		
vs 16	14	.					124 a			
(51)	A 293 1									
52	A 293 2	1604						533 c d (10 a b)	A 157	49
vs 17	15	8			31	32	124 c d		10	49
53	A 294	1607							A 158	50
Story I										
54	152.17	1608			12 3	236 16	125 a b	534 a (10 c)	p 78, bottom	51
55	152 17	1608			12 4	236 16	125 a	534 b (10 d)	p 78, bottom	51
56	152 18	1608			12 5	236 17	126, 127 a b	534 a (10 c)	p 78, bottom	51
57	152 18				12 7	236 19	127 c d, 128	534 b c d (10 d, 11 a b)	79 1	52
58	153 1	1609					129, 130	535 (11 c d, 12 a b)	79 2	53
59	153 2	1610					131		79 5	54
60	153 3	1611					131 d, 132 a b c	536 a b (12 c d)	79 12	55
61	153 4	.			12 15	237 4	132 d	536 c (13 a)	79 13	55
62	153 4				12 15	237 4	133 a b c	cf 536 c (13 a)	79 15	56
63	153 5	1611			12 18	237 8	133 d, 134 a b c	536 d (13 b)	79 18	57
64	153 6	.			12 20	237 10		.	79 19	58
65	153 7	cf 1611			12 22	237 12	134 d	537 a (13 c)	79 21	59
66	153 9	1612			13 4	237 18	135	537 b (13 d)	79 25	60, 61
67	153 10	1612			13 12	237 23	136, 137	537 c d, 538 a b (14)	79 31	62
68	153 14				13 15	238 6	138, 139	538 c d (15 a b)	79 34	63
69	153 16	1613			13 17	238 7	140	538 d (15 b)	79 38	64, 65
70	153.17	1613			13 20	238 9	141 a b	539 a (15 c)	80 4	66
71	154 3	1614			14 1	238 14	141 c d	539 b c (15 d, 16 a)		67
72	154 3	1617			14 2	238 16	142 a b		80 6	67
73	154 5	1617					142 c d, 143		80 7	68
vs 18	16	9					cf 143	539 e f (16 c d)	cf 80 7	cf 68

Reconstruction IV	T IV	SP IV	N IV	H	Spl IV	Pn IV	So IV	Ks IV	Sy III	Ar V
74	cf 154 9	cf 1621			14 5	238 18	144 a b	**539 d (16 b)**	80 12	68
75	154.9	1621			14 18	239 8	144 c d	540 (17) a	80 15	69
76	154 10	1622			14.22	239 12	145	540 (17) b	80 16	69
77	154 10	1623			14 23	239 13	146	540 (17) b c	80 18	70
78	154.12	1624			15 1	239 14	147	540 (17) c d	80 22	71
79	154 16	1625			15 1	239 15	148 a b d	541 (18) a b	80 24	72
80	154 17	1625					**148 c**	**541 (18) a**	80 25	72
81	154 18	1625			15 5	239 19	149	541 (18) c d, 542 (19)	80 26	73
82		1627			15 7	240 1	150			73
End of Story I										
83	A 295	1628			15 9	240 3	151	543 (20) a b	A 159	74
vs 19	17								12, part 1	75
vs 20	β 18								12, part 2	75
84	β A 301								A 160	76
vs 21	β 23								13, 14	76, 77
85	β A 302	1629					152	549 (26)		
Colophon	155 5	1630			44 23	256 7		x		78
Book V	V	V	V		V	V	V	V	IV	VI
1	A 303	1631			45 1	257 2				
vs 1	1	1	1	IV 97 (IV 94)					1	x
2	A 304 1	1634							A 162 1	x
3	A 304.2	1635			49 18	259 28	3 a b	550 (1) a b	A 162 3	x
4	A 304 2	1635					3 c d		A 162 3	x
5	A 304.3	1636					4 a	**550 (1) c d**	A 162 5	x
6	A 304 3	1636					cf **4 c d**	550 (1) c d	A 162 5	x
7	A 304 4	1637						551 (2) a b	A 162 6	x

8	A 304,6	1637						551 (2) c d	A 162 11	x
vs 2	2	2	2	cf IV 20 (IV 16)	71	53		552 (3)	2	x
9	A 305	1641							A 163	✓
Story I										
10	156 13	1642			68 3	276 2		553 (4) b	83 10	✓
11	156,13	1642							83 10	x
12	156 14	1642			68 4	276 2		553 (4) a b	83 11	x
13	157,3	1644			68 4	276 3		553 (4) c	83 15	✓
14	157,4	1644			68 6	276 5		553 (4) c d	83 17	x
15	157,5	1645			68 8	276 7		554 (5) a	83 20	x
16	157 6	1645			68,8	276 7			83 20	✓
17	157,7	1646			68 9	276 8			83 22	x
18	157 7	1647			68 9	276 8		554 (5) b	83 23	✓
19	157,9	1647						554 (5) c	83 25	✓
20	157,10				68 11	276 11			83 28	✓
21	157 11	1648			68 12	276 12		554 (5) d	83 31	✓
22	157 12	1649			68 13	276 13		555 (6) a	83 33	✓
23	157 13	1650			68 14	276 14		555 (6) b	83 35	x
24	157,14	1650			68 14	276 14		555 (6) c d	83 36	✓
25	157,15	1651			68 19	276 19		555 (6) d, 556 (7) a b	83 37	✓
26	157,16	1651			68 20	276 20		556 (7) c d, 557 (8) a b	84 1	✓
End of Story I										
27	A 306	1655			68 22	277 1		557 c d e f (8 c d, 9 a b)	A 164	✓
28	158 6	1655		153 12 (141 14)			4 b	558 a (9 c)	A 165 1	✓
29	158,6	1656		153 13 (141 14)			5		A 165 1	x
30	158,8						cf 5		A 165 3	x
31	158,8	1657		153 14 (141 15)			6		A 165 4	x
32	158 9	1657		153 14 (142 1)			7 a			
33	158 10	1658		153 15 (142 2)					A 165 5	x

Reconstruction V	T V	SP V	N V	H	Spl V	Pn V	So V	Ks V	Sy IV	Ai VI
34	158.10	1659		154 4 (142 6)			7 b c d, 8 a	558 (9 c d, 10 a b)	A 165 6	x
35	158.11	1661		154 6 (142.8)			8 a b c	559 a b (10 c d)	A 165 9	x
36	158.12	1662		154 7 (142 9)	50 12	260 14	8 d	559 c (11 a)	A 165 10	x
37	158 13	1663		154 7 (142 10)	50 12	260 14	9	559 d (11 b)	A 165 11	x
38	158.14	1664		154 9 (142.12)	50 13	260.16	10	560 (11 c d, 12 a b)	A 165 13	x
39	158 16	1666		154 10 (142 13)	50 16	260 19	11 a b c	561 a b c (12 c d 13 a)	A 165 17	x
40	158.16	1667		— (142 15)	50 18	260 21	11 d	561 d (13 b)	A 165 19	x
41	158.17	1668					cf 12		A 165 23	x
42	158.18	1670					cf 12		A 165 26	x
vs 3	3	3	3		1	1		562 (13 c d, 14 a b)		
43		1674								
Story II										
44	159.1	1675						563 a (14 c)		
45	159 3	1676			45 9, 46 8	257 8, 257 23				
46	159.4	1678		117 6 (96 14)	46 9	257 24		563 (14 c d, 15 a b)		
47	159.8	1681						564 a (15 c)		
48	159.11	1683		117 11 (97 5)	46 19	258 8		564 b (15 d)		
49	159.12	1685		117 12 (97 5)	46 20	258 9		564 c d (16 a b)		
50	159.14	1685								
51	159.15	1687		117 12 (97 5)				565 a b c (16 c d, 17 a)		
52		1688		117 13 (97 7)						
53		1689		117 15 (97 8)				565 d (17 b)		
54		1690		117 16 (97 9)				566 a b (17 c d)		
End of Story II										
55		1692						566 c d (18 a b)		
(56)		1692						cf 566cd (18ab) 567(—)	p 84, end	x
Colophon		1699			84 14	289 12				

CHAPTER IX

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE TANTRĀKHYĀYIKA

Purpose of this chapter.—In the course of my studies I have noted many corrections which, as it seems to me, must be made in the edited texts of the various Pañcatantra versions Especially numerous are these corrections in the edition of the Tantrākhyāyika For this reason, and also because of the special importance of the Tantrākhyāyika, I have thot it worth while to make a list of the changes which I should advocate making in this one text,—or rather, in the parts of it which correspond to parts of the reconstructed original, for I have made no effort to criticize the text in its unoriginal parts —Occasional corrections in the editions of other versions will be noted in the appropriate places in my Critical Apparatus

Emendations in the text of the Tantrākhyāyika.—The writer would propose the following emendations in the printed text of the Tantrākhyāyika None of the readings proposed occur in any of the manuscripts so far as recorded In a few cases the emendations have been proposed previously by others, these will be noted specifically For the reasons for the emendations, see my Critical Apparatus in each case All the emendations occur in parts of T which correspond to passages of the reconstructed original References are to page and line of Hertel's *editio princeps*, and to book and section or verse of my reconstruction

P 13, l 5, I vs 42 °bhara° for °bhāra° (with Thomas, *JRAS* 1910, p 1349)

P 72, l 16, II § 73 āprcchat for aprcchat (*JAOS* 38 287 f)

P 73, l 17, II § 86 nirvedakāranamukham for °kāranam ākhum (*JAOS* 38 288)

P 74, l 15, II § 97 yato for ito (*JAOS* 38 288).

P 76, l 11, II § 115 vyāpādya for mss vyadhāvya, vyādhādya, hatvā (ed viddhvā), SP vyāpādya (v l hatvā)

P 81, l 15, II vs 35. so 'nyaḥ for śūnyaḥ (Tβ; *JAOS* 38. 289)

P 83, l 6, II vs 41 °para° for °vara° (*JAOS* 38 289)

P 104, l 4, II vs 81 (Read yasya with mss for kasya, see p 262,) priyajanasamāgamanā na syuh for ed priyasvajanasamgamā na syuh [mss priyajanasamāgama- (R °mā)-na (P °nas, p °nās) syuh] (*JAOS* 38 290 f)

P 114, l 23, III vs 29 atha vyavasitānujñā for mss atha vyavasatānusnas (Hertel em āyavyayam sadānusnam)

P 123, l 11, III vs 51 ahinsānāmako for °kā (doubtless misprint)

P 126, l 14, III § 129 śvarūpam for sva°

P 133, l 17; III vs 72 °nabhijñeyā for °jñāyā of mss (Hertel em °jñāya)

P 138, l 6, III vs 87 °bījāśāt kapotād (with Kāutilīya) for mss °bijakā (°ekā) śapotād, Hertel em °bījānām kapotād

P 142, l 25, III vs 107 Insert ca at end of pāda a, with Pūrnabhadra

P 143, l 26, III vs 113 visitajvaram ivāvasitabhāram for visati jvaram ivāvasitasāram

P 144, l 7, III vs 115 Read 'cala° for cala°?

P 150, l 20, IV vs 11 nāivāti (Thomas) or nātīva, for nāti

P 158, l 8, V § 30 dāridiyadosāsahāyatayā for °dosasahā° (so ms, Hertel em °dosād asahā°)

Unfortunate emendations made by Hertel in the text of Tantrākhyāyika.—Following is a list of emendations made by Hertel, in the parts of T which correspond to original passages, which I find it impossible to accept In nearly all cases I think the correct reading is found in some or all of the mss In a very few instances I suggest different emendations —I do not include here false emendations in parts of the T text which do not correspond to parts of the original It will be understood, however, that I am not here dealing with what I take to be the text of the original Pañcatantra, but only with the text of T In some cases it coincides with the original text, in others not The fact that a different reading is indicated for the original is no reason for abandoning a possible reading of T, if supported by all the T mss —For fuller discussion of the points involved see my Critical Apparatus References are to page and line of Hertel's *editio princeps,* and to book and section or verse of my reconstruction

P 6, l 1, I § 12 nāvāikalyatām, read with mss na vāi kal° (*cf* Pn na kalyatām).

P 6, l 10, I § 20 mahāntam garjitaśabdam, mss garjitam, perhaps to be kept in spite of irregular gender? Irregularities of gender are not unknown elsewhere in T

P 12, l 2; I vs 32 'bhinanditavyah, mss 'bhisandhitavyah (vv ll. °man°, °dit°), which I think may be kept, it is again a grammatical irregularity, but not unique as such

P 15, l 16, I § 94 pratyapahrtamānāh, mss pratyāpa° or (ρ) pratyāh°, read the latter See next

P 15, l 17, I § 94 pratyapahrtamāno, mss pratyāpa° or (ρ R) pratyāh° read the latter See preceding

P 18, l 11, I § 134 °parisrāvana°, read with mss °parisravana°

P 22 l 6, I § 187 Three emendations in the text in one line, Winternitz *WZKM* 25 57 rightly points out that the mss are quite correct Hertel *ZDMG* 69 296f withdraws two of the emendations but sticks to yā for ye, failing to see, even after Winternitz's criticism, that yā is singular not plural

P 23, l 8, I § 202 samprāpto, mss sāmpratam, which read

P 25, l 6, I § 231 ārohatā, mss āruhatā, which read Thomas queried the emendation, and Hertel in reply (*WZKM* 25 12) said "Die *u*-Form ist grammatisch falsch" It is true that rohati is the regular form, but ruhati is not unknown elsewhere Boehtlingk in *pet lex* gives it "for metrical reasons", Whitney (*Roots*) gives ruhati -te E+ Since the mss of T are unanimous they should be followed.

P 26, l 3, I § 247 Ed mainly with α mss aham evopāyena vyāpādayāmi simham (mss simha) iti The correct reading is that of β simham evopāyena vyāpā° iti So SP and Pn (SP evopāyāntarena, Pn eva, om upāyena)

P 26, l 11, I § 253 vyacintayat, mss 'pyaci° (R 'dhyaci°), read 'py

P 27, l 7, p 34, ll 2, 3, 23, p 47, l 6, I §§ 263, 310, 312, 317, 455 drogdhu-matı (or buddhi), mss α drogdha-, β drugdha- Read with β

P 31, l 7, I § 292 surabhi, mss β surabhigandham (so read), α surabhi sugandham *Cf* Pn surabhigandhi Omit ca, added in ed

P 32, l 6, I § 302. madaśramanidrāparītakāyo, mss °kāle, so read

P 35, l 23, I vs 95 bhavanty akāranavaśena, mss bhavanti kā°, perhaps to be kept?

P 40, l 2, I § 353 mss add kartum (α vihitum or °tam) after ārabdhāh, ed omits the word without reason

P 40, l 10, I § 363 vijñapyase, svāminā, α mss °nām, the correct reading is that of β, vijñāpyah svāmī (punctuation after, not before, the last word)

P 43, l 12, I § 394 velāplavanān, read with mss °plāvanān

P 45, l 14, I § 423. matinivārito, mss omit mati, so read

P 52, l. 2, I § 471. mitraviśesatah, mss α °viśesah, β °viślesah, read the latter

P 55, l 3, I § 501 nāmāikah sārthavāhasuto yah, read with R nāma yah sārtha°, other mss. nāmāikah &c without yah

P 60, l 9, I § 570 bhojane, read with mss °nam; see p 96 above

P 61, l 6, I § 584 vimarśitam, mss visarpitam Winternitz *WZKM* 25 57 pointed out that the reading of the mss is correct, and this is admitted by Hertel *ZDMG* 69 296 I would add that the Arabic versions support the mss reading.

P 61, l 12, I § 585 parārdhyagunanindāparo. Read with α mss parārdhya gunaparo (β °paraguno). Hertel's emendation spoils the sense, which he failed to understand

P 64, l 7, II § 6 apaśyat tadadhisthānavāsinam &c No ms has tad which is unnecessary (*JAOS* 38 276)

P 65, l 21, II § 23 moksayiteti, read with mss °yatīti (*JAOS* 38 276)

P 67, l 2, II vs 6 badhyante, mss bādh° See *JAOS* 38 276

P 67, ll 18, 19, II § 35 Read with mss mā tāvan mamāsya chidyantām (all mss but R chind°) See *JAOS* 38 276

P 67, l 20, II § 37 svavyasanānapeksām, read with R °sanopeksām (corrected from °sanāpeksām, so other mss omitting sva)

P 67, l 23, II § 39 amum, mss ayam, keep (*JAOS* 38 277)

P 70, l 22, II § 60 tvām in no mss and not needed, *JAOS* 38 277

P 71, l 5, II § 62 pratyāyito, mss pratyarthito, which may be kept as the T reading, tho the original undoubtedly read pratyāyito, see p 93f

P 71, ll 9, 10, II § 66 Read with β mss cittasamgamam vrddhaye, na punar vittam prabhūtān api &c See *JAOS* 38 277

P 73, l 15, II § 85 punar apy, inserted without ms authority, should be omitted, along with the following āha, which R omits

P 74, l 6, II § 92 tīrthabhūta, read with mss tīrthapūta (P tīvra°)

P 74, l 7, II § 92 °drava° for mss °dravya°, which keep *JAOS* 38 278

P 74, l 14, II § 96 śesam suguptam are found in no ms and are wholly unnecessary

P 79, l 1, II § 141 tad brahmahrdayam yasyāsāu, mss α tad brahman suvarnam, yasyāsāu (so read), β hrdayasyāpy asāu for yasyāsāu

P 79, l 10, II § 145 ākhyāne, read with mss °te

P 79, l 17, II § 151 mamādyāṅgulakasyāpy utpatane, mss α °kasyotpatane (so read), β °kasyādyutpa° or °kasyābhyutpa°

P 82, ll 3–4, II § 154 yat, read with mss yas See *JAOS* 38. 278

P 86, l 18, II vs 53 'nubandhāt, read with mss 'nubandhah See p 94ff

P 87, l 25, II § 169 hy āyānti, read with α kva yānti (β to same effect) See p 124

P 88, l 7, II vs 61 pāurusāc ca parihīnam, read with α pāurusavihīnam (β purusaparihīnam)

P 97, l 20, II § 188 citrāṅgah, read with mss °ga

P 98, l 7, II § 195. kīlasaktacarma°, read with β kīle śikya° (α kīle śakya°)

P. 101, l 10, II § 213 suvarnena, read with α anena (β varnena)

P 102, l 2, II § 217 asvāsthyam, read with β āsvasthyam (α āsvāstyam)

P 103, l 14, II § 222 niyati, read with mss. niyata

P. 104, l 4, II vs 81 kasya . priyasvajanasamgamā na syuh see above, p 260

P 104, l 6, II vs 82 pathyatana, read with mss pathyadhana.

P 105, l 3, II vs 86 askhalitam, read with mss °tas

P 105, l. 7, II vs 87 viśrāme; read with mss °mo.

P 105, l 13; II vs 92 utpāda°, read with mss utpāta°

P. 108, l. 8, III § 6 ulūka upalabdhadurgavrttāntah, read with mss ulūkopalabdha°.

P 108, l 13, III § 8. tadvighātāyeti, read with mss R and z (corr.) tadvighāto yathā bhavati (z om bhavati), other mss (p and r) tadvighāto yadi

P 110, l 12, III vs 3 asame asamopanamanam aho mahat kastam No ms has aho, it should be omitted, with elision of a- in asamo°

P 111, l 5, III § 21 yuddhe, read with mss °dham

P 113 l 23, III vs 20 na kāntim, read with β na cāgamam (so SP, N, and so the meter requires), α na kāntiḥ

P 114, l 2, III vs 22 na cecchanti ayaśomiśram, mss. all °ti yaśo°, which should perhaps be kept, tho I have hesitatingly adopted Hertel's emendation

P 114, l 23, III vs 29 āyavyayam sadānusnam, read atha vyavasitā-nujñā, mss °satānusnaś

P 115, l 17, III § 27 saphalam, read with R phalavad, other mss phalam

P 116, l 11, III § 35 °nyatiaivā°, read with mss °nyathāivā°.

P 117, l 15, III § 43 mogham distadigdāham karoty apadesaksamaś ca; mss so 'yam distadigdāham karoty avyapadeśa° (α apadeśa°) ca Read with β

P 122, l 3, III § 89 āgatah inserted without ms authority, omit it

P 122, l 6, III § 94 deśabhūpam, read with mss °rūpam

P 123, l 2, III § 101 sthāne, read with α sthāna- (β sthāvara-)

P 123, l 4, III § 102 samnikrstāu, read mith mss °tam

P 125, l 12, III § 119 svayam, read with α tam, β samam.

P 125, l 18, III § 123 yātam, read with R sthitam (other mss omit)

P 126, l 4, III § 126 samprāptāu, inserted without ms authority, omit

P 127, l 12, III § 141 nyavedayan, read with β nivedayanti sma, α nivedayan

P 128, l 24, III vs 63 sarvotpattisamrddhasya, read with α and R sarvopadhi°, other mss. santopadhi°, mantrāusadhi°

P 132, l 2, III § 191 eva inserted without ms authority, omit

P 132, l 3, III § 192 avahasya inserted without ms authority, omit

P 142, l 25, III vs 107 vidyā inserted without ms authority, omit See p 98 above

P 149, l 3, IV § 17 āpa, read with R agamat, p āha

P 149, l 5, IV § 18 valīvadanakaprītyātikrāntavelo, read with mss °prītyati°

P 149, l 23, IV § 27 bahudhāivam, mss bahu cāivam, read so

P 150, l 2, IV vs 6 kartuh, read with mss. kartum

P 158, l 7, V § 29 ca inserted without ms authority, omit

Unfortunate choices made by Hertel between variant manuscript readings in the text of Tantrākhyāyika.—Following is a list of cases in which I should make a different choice between various manuscript readings from that made by Hertel in editing the Tantrākhyāyika Many of these differences of opinion are due to the different views which Hertel and I hold of the relations between the Tantrākhyāyika manuscripts, and of the relation of Tantrākhyāyika to other Pañcatantra versions. Thus, whereas Hertel always tends to prefer Tα to Tβ even when the latter

is supported by other versions, I hold that a reading of any T ms which is supported by other versions is more apt to be original than one which is not thus supported, and that in general Tβ is a rather better representative of the T tradition than Tα —The cases here listed all occur in sections of T which correspond to parts of the reconstructed original References are to page and line of Hertel's *editio princeps*, and to book and section or verse of my reconstruction

P 3, l 11, KM § 1 mihilāropyam, v l with Jn mahi°, so read So also at the beginning of Book I and II, in spite of some variations in the other versions, I believe that the original was everywhere mahi°

P 4, l 4, KM § 7 'nekaśāstravikhyātakīrtir, read with β śisya for śāstra, *cf* Spl chāttrasamsadi labdhakīrtih (tho, to be sure, Pn supports the α reading)

P 7, l 7, I § 24 tad atra, read tatra with β, SP, Jn

P 10, l 22, I § 49 ca, read hi with β, SPα, Jn

P 11, l 14, I § 57 svāmin, pādānām, read svāmipādānām with β (*cf* II, Jn devapādānām)

P 13, l 10, I vs 44. śāstram śastram, transpose these words with β, SP, N, H, Pn

P 13, l 17, I vs 46 bhrtah, read with β bhrtyah (better sense)

P 13, l 19, I vs 47 mūsako grhajāto 'pi hantavyo 'nupakārakah, read with z, R mūsikā grhajātāpi hantavyānupakārinī, so essentially Jn

P 14, l 20, I § 76 itaś cetah, add ca with v l

P 14, l 22, I § 78 °hrdayaḥ, add ca with β, SP

P 15, l 9, I § 87 pratinivartitum aśakto 'ntarlīnāradhakāyo vihasya, read with β pratinivrtyāntarlīnam avahasya (supported in sense by SP)

P. 15, l. 15, I § 94 atyantāsvākārābhinyastāh, so β. Read either °svakarā° with α, or °svakārā° The word is kara or kāra, "tax", Hertel misunderstands it The Kāuṭilīya text has here kārābhinyastaḥ

P 16, l 18, I § 106 ca, omit with β, Jn

P 17, l 14, I § 122 tad atra read tatra with R, Jn, Hp

P 23, l 11, I § 205 After prakṣipāmaḥ add with β iti, tatrāiko 'bravīt (supported in sense by Pa) In the same line after āsādya add atra with β, SP, H

P 23, l 12, I § 205 kathayām āsuh, omit with β (it is pleonastic)

P 24, l 3, I § 214 enam, read with β etam, since the word is emphatic (first in the sentence, and followed by api).

P 24, l 17, I § 224 -atrāvāsake, read with β -asyāvāse, of which reading Hertel says "eine Anderung, die nicht zum Schluß der Erzahlung paßt" It is true that it does not fit the conclusion of T, in which the crow deposits the ornament in its own nest, not in the snake's hole But all other versions make the place of deposit the snake's hole, which is *a priori* better, and it seems to me that Tβ's reading at this point indicates an

original agreement with the rest Tα has changed asya to atra to make it fit the altered conclusion of T

P 25 l 10, I vs 63 abudhasya, read abuddhes tu with v l of β, *cf* SP, N, H, Jn nirbuddhes tu

P 25, l 17, I § 241 ubhayopadravah, read with β ubhayata upa°

P 26, l 3, I § 247 See p 261 above

P 27, l 16, I vs 67 tu, read ca with β, Pn

P 27, l 24, I vs 68 svānurakto, read sva° with α, Pn

P 28, l 2, I § 269 A sentence found in β and Jn is omitted in the edition with α, read with β

P 28, l 5, I § 270 me, read mama with β, SP, H, Jn.

P 30, l 17 I § 286 Before krmayah add ca with β, Pn

P 31, l 4, I § 288 After rājñas, add grhe with β, Pn vāsagrhe

P 31, ll 10, 11, I § 295 iha, mānsāny, and (l 11) ca, to be omitted with β, Jn ' Blood," not "meat" or ' flesh," is what a flea wants

P 35, l 23, I vs 95 romodgamāḥ, read with β rosod°

P 38, l 5, I vs 110 ślisyantīme, so Tβ and SP ed with β, read with Tα, SPα, N, Pn kliśyantīme (SPα °ty ete)

P 39, l 14, I § 346. abhyudgamam, read with β, Pn °dyamam

P 39, l 18, I § 350 tadā tenā°, read with β, Pn tadānenā°

P 40, l 10, I § 363. vijñapyase svāminā (α °nām), read with β vijñāpyah svāmī

P 40, ll 16, 17, I vs 116 mahāpradhānam, sarvapradhānesv, read with most mss and SP, N, H mahāpradānam,—with all mss except P and all other versions sarvapradānesv

P 41, l 12, I § 376. akalpakāyo, read with all mss but P, and SP, So, Jn, alpakāyo (SP, So, Spl svalpa°)

P 41, l 13, I § 377 Add evam after gomāyur with β, SP

P 41, l 16, I § 380 akalpakāyo, read with all mss but p alpa°, supported in sense by SP

P 42, l 17, I vs 120 kāryākāryāny, read °kāryam with β, SP, N, Jn

P 43, l 9, I § 390 Add kasmimscit after asti, with β, Jn

P 43, l 14, I § 396 Add na at end of line, with β, Pn, this seems to be required by the sense, which is at least poorer without it

P 44, l 13, I § 406 Add pathi after punaś with β, supported by Ks and in sense by other versions.

P 45, l 11, I § 421 matsyabandham, read °bandhanam with β, Pn

P 45, l 16, I § 426 Add saparijanān before matsya° with β (Pn parijanasametān)

P 46, l 7, I § 436 β adds mama (*cf* Pn me) before manda°, and after it a phrase supported in sense by the other versions Read so

P 46, l 10, I § 439 °vigrahāya, read °vigrahasya with β, Pn

P 46, l 12, I § 441 °rana°, visnunā, read with β, Pn °samgrāma° and nārāyanena

P 51, l 22, I § 470 Add svāmino before nīco° with β, Pn

P 52, l 5, I § 472 kuvikalpam, read vivіktam with β, SP, Pn

P 52, l 15, I vs 144 kalusena (so Tα, SPα, N), read kapatena with Tβ, SP ed (β), Pn, and apparently Pa

P 52, l 24, I vs 146 śaśāṅkasya (α, with N), read saśaṅkasya with β, SP, Pn —vyomny eva with α, read nimnaiva with β (Pn nimnāsya, SP, N nīcaiva) See above, p 109

P 53, l 19, I § 482 Omit mahān with β and all other versions

P 54, l 2, I § 489 vāryamāno, read ni-vār° with β, Pn

P 55, l 13, I § 508 sahāparasatam, read sahāparam sa° with β, Pn

P 56, l 7, I § 522 atiavyavahāradīnārānām, read with β atia vyavahāre (z °ram) dī°

P 56, l 14, I § 532 tathā ca, read with β, Pn sādhu cedam ucyate

P 58, l 17, I § 556 vanśah, read with β, Pn svavanśah (*cf* SP svakulam)

P 59, l 6, I § 558 Add tava before caritena, with ms P (of α) and SP, Pn

P 62, l 13, I vs 172 bhrtyah, read with α(!), SP, N, H, Pn bhrtyāh

P 64, l 8, II § 6 paksibandham, read with α paksibandhaśavaram (with corruptions in mss), *cf* Pn paksibandhanimittam vyādham

P 64, l 15, II § 12 itaś cetah, add ca with β

P. 68, l 1, II § 39 tat sādhu nayata (so α, with v l na | yata), read with β tac cāsādhu, yata

P 69, l 5, II § 56 Add mayā after saha with β, SP

P 71, l 2, II vs 22. ca, read tu with β, SP, N, H, Pn

P 73, l 1, II § 80 ca tat, read gatah with β, Pn, *cf* SP, Spl gatvā

P 73, l 14, II § 85 Insert sa°āha with ms R

P 74, l 2, II § 90 Considerable insertion of β (see note in ed) supported by Jn, Pa, should be put in text

P 79, l 9, II § 144 pūrvākhyāte sesam, read with β °tam aśesam

P 79, l 14, II vs 30 bhavaty arthena balavān, read with β arthena balavān bhavaty, so SP, N, H, Jn except sarvo (hy, or 'py) for bhavaty

P 81, l 15, II vs 35 Read this line with β (slightly corrupt), SP, N, H, Pn See p 110f

P 82, l 12, II vs 38 mriyamānasya cihnāni yāni tāny eva yācatah, read with β mri° yāny eva tāni cihnāni yā° SP, N closer to this than to the reading of T ed

P 85, l 4, II § 162 Add yastyā before śrasy with β, Pa

P 86, l 7, II vs 50 Add jagati before jantoh with β, N, H, and best ms of SP

P 87, l 15, II vs 57 Transpose dantāh keśā, with β, SP, N, H, Pn

P 87, l 17, II § 168 Add kaścit after satām with β, Pn

P 88, l 15, II vs 63 paribhavavaśam, read °padam with β, SP, N, H, Pn

P 91, l 14, II vs 68 tad ananyathā, read na tad anyathā with β, SP, N, H

P 95, l. 24 II vs 70 prākkarmāyati°, read with α prākkarma prati

P 94, l 14, II vs 73 jīvanti nityam purusās, read with β, Pn jī° te satpurusās

P. 94, l 19, II vs 74 lobhena hrt°, read with β lobhopahrt° (Pn lobhopahat°)

P 95, l 2, II vs 76 vā, read with β 'pi

P 98, l 5, II § 194 manthara, read with α, R mantharaka

P 98, l 6, II § 194 tad upalabhyatām utplutya (subject in accus !), read with β tad upalabhasvotplutya

P 98, l 10, II § 197 Add with β pāśachedanakarmanah after anabhijñah

P 99, l 13, II § 203 anabhijño, read with β, Pn abhijño

P 99, l 14, II § 204 Add na before vartate with β, SP, Pn

P 101, l 6, II § 212 Add gandha after bhojana with β, Pn

P 101, l 7, II § 212 °drava°, read °dravya° with α, see *JAOS* 38 278, 286

P 102, l 9, II § 220 Add idam before abhihitam with β, Pn

P 102, l 11, II § 220 ato, read nāto with β See *JAOS* 38 286

P. 104, l 13, II vs 84 nirantaram, read °ra- with β, Pn (SP, N nirat-yaya-)

P 104, l 18, II § 232 carañūvakrstam, read with β carañūv apakrsya (Pn °nāv ākrsya)

P 105, l 4, II vs 86 hi, read ca with β, Pn

P 105, l 8, II § 234 Passage in β (see note in ed) should be put in text, supported by Spl and Pa

P 106, l 7, II § 236 Passage in β (see note in ed) should be put in text, supported by Pn and Pa

P 106, l 14, II § 240 Add with β śīghratararn before yāsyati (supported in sense by H, Spl, Ar)

P 106, l 15, II § 242 Add with β, Pn ānyac ca before abhyāśopagate

P. 108, l 7, III § 4 vāyasah, read vāyasarājah with z corr, R, and SP, Jn (*cf* So kākarājah, Ks vāyasādhipatih)

P 108, l 9, III § 6 Add kākānām after tesām, with α, supported by SP

P 110, l 10, III § 18 aranya-, read with β aranye (better sense)

P 113, l 23, III vs 20 kāntim (em for α kāntih), read cūgamam with β, SP, N

P 115, l 17, III § 27 asatkarnam, read with α sat°

P 117, l 8, III § 42 Add atha before asāv with β, Jn

P 117, l 15, III § 43 apadeśa°, read with β avyapadesa°

P 118, l 4, III § 49 prerita, read presitā(h) with β, SP, Pn

P 118, l 18, III vs 38 arthād, read arthān with β, Pn

P 119, l 8, III vss 41 and 42 These vss of β omitted in ed but should be put in the text The first is supported by Pn and Pa (and So?), the second by Pn

P 119, l 10, III § 61 aśakyam anena, read with R aśakyo 'nena

P 120, l 1, III § 64, and vs 44 β corruptly represents original, with support in SP, H, Pa, ed with α omits See p 111 ff

P 120, l 13, III § 72 Add eko after bhavān with β, Jn ekākī

P 122, l 3, III § 90 Add with β sentence omitted in ed (see note), but supported by Jn, Sy (Hertel misunderstands the meaning)

P 123, l 2; III § 101 upaślista-, read with β °tāu

P. 123, l 7, III vs 49 kadācid api sādhubhih, read with β mā no dharmo hato vadhīt, supported (with varying corruptions) by SP, N.

P 124, l 11, III § 112 Add mayā before sāmānye with β, Jn

P 125, l 7, III § 116 sampradhāryatām, yeneha nāgacchanti, read with β, seemingly supported by Pa, sampradhāryādhunā yāvat te (v l yāvanto) 'smān prati samnipātāya nehāgacchanti

P 126, l 17, III § 133 Add me before or after kimcid, with β, Pn

P 127, l 11, III § 140 mandamandam, read mandam-mandam with β, Jn, So

P 129, l 2, III § 155 Add apy after śatrur with β

P 163 f (Appendix II), III vs 65 ff, with Story 6 Omitted in ed with α, read essentially with β, supported by all other versions See p 63, note 6

P 129, l 17, III § 176 goyugalam, read goyugam with β, SP, Pn

P 130 l 2, III § 181 pratibudhyeta, probably read with β, SPα pratibudhyate, in spite of Pn budhyeta

P 130, l 7, III § 189 anyac ca (α, z), read with R, Pn api ca

P 132, l 2, III § 191 sa (z, p), read so 'py with R, SP

P 133, l 5, III § 212 Add with β mūlotkhātāya after sarvathā, Pn mūlotkhātā vayam

P 134, l 8, III § 227 Speech of ascetic in β (see note in ed) omitted in ed with α, but supported in sense by Jn and Pa

P 134, l 15, III § 231 Add bhagavānl after api with β, SPα

P 135, l 9, III § 243 svayamnāśāy°, read with β, Pn svayamsvayamnāśāy°

P 135, l 15, III § 248 Add kṛtāhāravihārā after °olūkā, with β supported in sense by SP Pn

P 136, l 19, III § 259 'tyāhitah, read nītah with β, Spl, Ks, Pn yāpitah

P 137, l 2, III vs 79 valayaranitāu, read °racitāu with β, Pn racitavalayāḥ

P 138, l 14, III vs 90 upayāti na nītidosah, read with R °yānti, with β °dosāh, both supported by SP, N, Pn

P 138, l 15, III vs 90 kim, read kam with β, SP, N, Pn

P 138, l 16, III vs 90 strīkrte, read °tā with R, N, Pn svīkrtā, SP strīgatā

P 139, l 8, III § 270 Add rātrāu after adya with β, SP, Pn, Pa

P 139, l 8, III §§ 271, 272 Passage of β (see ed note), supported by Pn and Pa, should be put in text

P 139, l. 11, III § 276. Passage of β (see ed note), supported by SP, Pn, Pa, should be put in text

P 148, l 7, IV § 5 tenāhārena, ms R tatphalāhārena, supported in sense by SP, Ks

P 152, l 9, IV § 50 Add after °ābravīt (β °āha) a sentence found in β (see ed note), largely supported by other versions, especially So.

P 153, l 4, IV § 62 pratidinam, read with β pratidivasam jīvāmi, the verb seems required by the sense

P 167 f (Appendix IV, end of Book IV), IV vss 20, 21, §§ 84, 85 Passage of β omitted in ed with α, but supported by Pa See p 111 above.

P 156, l 9, V § 8 Sentence of β (see ed note) should be added in text, supported by SP, and *cf* Pa

P. 157, l 5, V § 15 See note in ed., variant of β supported in sense by Pa (ten goats instead of twenty). Read with β

P. 157, l 10, V § 19. °vapanam, read with α °vāpanam (first suggested by Thomas, and accepted by Hertel, *WZKM* 25 23)

THE PANCHATANTRA RECONSTRUCTED

TRANSLATION

NOTE

Parentheses enclose parts of the translation which cannot be attributed to the original with entire confidence In other words, they correspond to parentheses used in the Text (Volume I), so far as this is possible in the translation

Square brackets enclose matter added by the translator to make the meaning clearer to western readers

The numbering of sections and of verses (that is of translations of Sanskrit verses) follows that of the text, see introduction to Volume I That is numbers enclosed in parentheses indicate the prose sections of the original Text into which I have divided it for convenience of reference, numbers out of parentheses indicate what are, in the original, verses The (parenthetized) numbers of the prose sections of the original *precede* the sections to which they refer, the numbers of the verses of the original *follow* the translations of the verses to which they refer Each verse of the original is made to form a separate paragraph in the translation

INTRODUCTORY SECTION

To Manu, to Vācaspati, to Śukra, to Parāśara and his son, and to Cānakya the wise—to [these] authors of the books of the science of kingship be homage [1] 1

(Visnuśarman has mastered the cream of all the treatises on the science of polity in the world, and he too has composed a fascinating treatise in these five books 2)

(1) (Thus runs the account of it) There was in the south country a city named Mahilāropya (2) There dwelt a king named Amaraśakti [2] He was a Tree-of-Wishes granting the desires of all suppliants His feet were illumined by a flood of radiant beams from the crown jewels of noble kings [who bowed before him] He was completely skilled in all the arts (and verst in all the science of polity) (3) And he had three sons, named Vasuśakti, Ugraśakti, and Anekaśakti,[3] who were utter fools (Now) when the king saw that they were ignorant of (political) science, he called his ministers and took counsel with them (4) ' (Sirs, you know already that these my sons are utter fools)

What profit is there in the birth of a son if he be neither wise nor virtuous? What can a man do with a cow which neither gives milk nor calves? 3

Better a miscarriage, better no intercourse whatsoever at the proper seasons; better a stillborn child, nay, better even that a daughter be born, better a barren wife, better to enter

[1] Manu, reputed author of the most famous Hindu law-book, Vācaspati "Lord of Speech," a title of Brhaspati, preceptor of the gods, Śukra, preceptor of the demons or Asuras, Parāsara was the father of Vyāsa, the reputed compiler of the Vedas and the Mahābhārata, Cānakya, minister of the famous emperor Candragupta and reputed author of the Kāutilīya Arthaśāstra (see page 274, note 2)

[2] "God-might"

[3] Roughly, "God-might," "Terrible-might," and "Manifold-might."

upon the homeless [mendicant] state of life—than a foolish son, tho he were handsome, rich, and powerful 4

(5) By what means, then, may their intelligence be awakened?' (6) (At this some of them said "Sire, it is well known that the study of grammar requires twelve years, then, if that be in a measure mastered, after it the systematic study of religion, polity, and love[4] may be taken up So this is a sore task even for intelligent folk, how much more for the dull-witted!) (7) (Now) in matters like this there is a brahman named Viṣṇuśarman, who knows all (the facts of) the science of polity (, and whose fame is spread abroad by his many pupils Summon him and let him take charge of the princes)' (8) (This plan was adopted, and a minister summoned Viṣṇuśarman, who came and saluted the king with a benediction after the manner which brahmans employ, and took his seat And when he was comfortably seated the king said to him) (9) ("Brahman, I beg you to do me the favor of making these ignorant princes second to none in the science of polity, and I will requite you with a sum of money') (10) (Thus spoke the king, but) Viṣṇuśarman (arose and) said (to the king) (11) "Sire, (hear this my lion's roar![5] I make this statement not as one covetous of money, and since I am eighty years of age and my senses are all dulled, the time for me to enjoy wealth is over But in order to help you I will undertake this as a trial of intellectual skill. So let this day be written down!) (12) If within the space of six months I do not make your sons completely verst in the science of polity, then, Sir, you may (show me the door[6] and) banish me (to a distance of a hundred *hastas*[7])" (13) When the king (and his ministers) heard this (unbelievable promise on the part of the brahman), in delight (and astonishment) he gave

[4] The Hindus regard these three subjects as including all possible human desires Under *artha*, translated here "polity," they include worldly success of all kinds

[5] A common expression in India for a triumphant, confident, or exulting declaration

[6] Literally, "the way"

[7] A measure of length, about 18 inches It seems that a longer distance (if any specific distance) should be mentioned, unless it is meant to be humorous, which is hardly likely Only one of the versions names any distance

over the princes to Visnuśarman with all deference (14) (But) the latter began to teach the king's sons the science of polity under the guise of stories, for which purpose he composed Five Books (entitled The Separation of Friends, The Winning of Friends, The Story of the Crows and the Owls, The Loss of One's Gettings, and Hasty Action)

(Here ends the Introductory Section)

BOOK I

THE SEPARATION OF FRIENDS, OR, THE LION AND THE BULL

(1) Now here begins this, the first book, called the Separation of Friends, of which this is the opening stanza

A great and growing love between a lion and a bull in the forest was destroyed by an over-greedy and malicious jackal 1

(2) The king's sons said "How was that?" Visnuśarman told this story

(3) There was in the south country a city named Mahilāropya (4) There dwelt a merchant named Vardhamānaka,[1] who had gained great wealth by lawful means (5) One time this thot occurred to him "Even tho I possess great wealth, I must increase my fortune And it is said

When a man has not got wealth, he should seek to get it, when he has got it, he should guard it watchfully, when he has guarded it, he should be forever increasing it, when he has increast it mightily, he should bestow it on worthy persons. 2

(6) 'Get wealth when you have it not, guard what you have got, increase what you have guarded, and bestow on worthy persons what you have increast,'[2] this is what we are told to do (This is the way to live in the world) (7) Now if a man gets no wealth, he has nothing But even if he has got wealth, unless it be guarded, it is straightway lost (, for many are the dangers to it) And if wealth be not increast, even tho used sparingly, it wastes away like eye-pigment [Yet] if it be not used (when occasion arises), it is the same as if it were not gained (8) (Therefore a man should guard, increase, and use what he has got.) And it is said

[1] Or Vardhamāna. The name means approximately "Thrifty."

[2] The quotation is from the so-called Kāutilīya Arthaśāstra, a book on the "Science of Polity," attributed to Cānakya, see page 271, note 1.

Of goods that are acquired distribution is the one true means of preservation, it is like an outlet-drain for waters pent up within the belly of a pond" 3

(9) Thus reflecting he collected a load of wares for Mathurā and departed (from the city on a trading journey, on an auspicious day, and after taking leave of the elders of his family) (10) And he had two draft-bulls harnest to the front of his wagon-pole Their names were Nandaka and Samjīvaka[3] (11) Now as he proceeded he came to (a place in) a great jungle where the water of a mountain waterfall came tumbling down (, falling from a great distance,) and formed a muddy spot And (as luck would have it, it chanced that one of these bulls,) Samjīvaka, because he hurt one leg (, getting stuck) in the muddy place, and because the load on the wagon was too heavy, sank down, breaking the yoke (12) And when the merchant Vardhamānaka saw him, he was deeply distrest. And when he had waited for three days and the bull did not recover, (13) he appointed guards for him and continued his journey into foreign parts (as he had planned it, for he was aware that the jungle was full of perils and wisht to save the rest of the caravan) (14) But on the next day the cowardly guards (, who had charge over the bull, also) came after him and said to him, falsely "(Sir,) yonder Samjīvaka is dead (and we have burned him and performed the other rites of burial)" (15) (And when the merchant heard this, out of gratitude [for the bull's services] he made the offerings for the dead in his honor, and went on) (16) But Samjīvaka was not fated to die yet The cooling winds, mingled with spray [from the waterfall], refresht his body, he made shift to get up, and (little by little) made his way to the bank of the Jumna (17) (And) there he ate the emerald-green grass-tips and roamed about at will, and in a few days his frame became (well-conditioned and) plump, and he regained his strength, and his hump became fat as Śiva's bull, and he remained there, every day tearing open the tops of the ant-hills with the strokes of his pointed horns, and bellowing loudly.

(18) Now in this forest (and at no great distance) there was a lion named Piñgalaka[4] Attended by all the beasts, he enjoyed

[3] Approximately "Rejoicer" and "Enlivener."

[4] "Tawny"

the fruits of kingship in the forest, won by his own prowess (, and carried his head high, knowing no fear) And thus [it is said]:

The king of beasts lives in solitude in the forest, he has not the emblems of royalty and knows not the science of polity, yet—so noble is his spirit—he is the fit object of laudations declaiming him a true king 4

No coronation, no consecration is performed by the beasts for the lion, his power is acquired by his own prowess, and the kingship of beasts falls to him naturally 5

(19) It came to pass that this lion was thirsty and went down to the bank of the Jumna for a drink of water (20) And (while he was yet a great way off) he heard Samjīvaka's roar, which was unlike anything he had heard before (and seemed like an unseasonable clap of the thunder that comes at the dissolution of the world) (21) And when he heard it his heart was terror-stricken, and (without drinking of the water, but) dissembling his mien, he stopt still (in the neighborhood of the Fig-tree of the Circles, taking the position of the Four Circles,[5] without saying a word) (22) (Now the position of the Four Circles is as follows The Circles are the Lion, the Lion's Retainers, the Kākaravas, and the Kimvṛttas Of these, the lion alone is local ruler in all the places of the country—villages, towns, cities, settlements, farming and mountain hamlets, parks, villages granted to brahmans, woods, and forests There are a certain number of Lion's Retainers, who are the office-holders The Kākarava-groups are the middle classes The Kimvṛttas, of course, are those that occupy other positions) (23) Now this [lion] had two hereditary ministers, jackals, named Karataka and Damanaka[6] (24) (And they two held a consultation together) At this time Damanaka said (to

[5] Nothing is known of these "Four Circles" except what appears from this passage Apparently they are supposed to be social divisions among the inhabitants of the lion's kingdom They are perhaps conceived as corresponding vaguely to the four main castes of Hindu society, tho the correspondence is certainly far from perfect The words *kākarava* ("having a crow's voice") and *kimvṛtta* ("what-become?," perhaps "miscellaneous groups?") are wholly obscure in application

[6] The name Damanaka means something like "Victor," what Karataka means is not clear

Karataka) "Friend Karataka (see) this our lord (Piṅgalaka) started out to get a drink, why has he stopt here?" (25) Karataka said 'What business is that of ours? And it is said:

The man who tries to concern himself with what is not his concern, he it is that lies slain, like the ape that pulled out the wedge' 6

(26) Damanaka said "How was that?' The other replied:

STORY 1 APE AND WEDGE

(27) There was a city in a certain region, and near it a certain merchant had begun to build a temple (28) The (master-builders and the other) workmen who were employed there went into the city (at noon-time to eat dinner) (29) (Now) at that time a beam of (*arjuna-*)wood had been split half way thru (by one of the workmen), and it was left held apart by a wedge (of *khadira*-wood) which was driven into it by a mechanical contrivance (30) And (it chanced that) a great crowd of apes, who dwelt in the forest, came to the spot and began playing about at random here and there (among the tree-tops, the towers of the building, and the piles of wood). (31) (But) in the course of this play one (of the apes), whose hour of death was at hand, being of a silly disposition, climbed upon the beam, so that his testicles hung down into the crack; and saying "Who drove this (wedge) in where it doesn't belong?" he (took hold of it and) began to pull it out with his hands (32) What happened when the wedge came out from its place, you know already (without my telling you)

(End of Story 1)

(33) "Therefore I say A man (if he be wise) should shun what is none of his concern' (34) (And again he said) "Surely you cannot deny that we have enuf to live on, from the remains of what [the lion] eats" (35) Damanaka said: "How, Sir, can you be content with (merely) getting enuf to eat? Surely no one enters the service of the exalted except to gain distinction And this is well said

To help their friends, and likewise to harm their foes, the wise seek royal service Who cannot supply the mere needs of his belly? 7

He truly lives, on whose life the lives of many depend Does not even a crane fill his own belly with his beak? 8 And again

A dirty beef-bone, even with all the meat gone from it and nothing left but tiny remnants of sinew and fat, delights the dog who gets it, and yet it suffices not to still the pangs of his hunger The lion lets go the jackal that has come within his very grasp, and strikes down an elephant Every one, even in time of dire straits, craves benefits that are suited to his spirit 9

When one tosses a morsel to a dog, he wags his tail, rolls at the feet [of the giver], falls on the ground and turns up his face and his belly towards him But a noble elephant preserves a serious mien and eats only after endless coaxing 10

Only that man eats well in this world who eats what he has earned by skill or prowess A mere dog, even, can get a morsel of food by wagging his tail 11

Real life in this world, the wise say, is only that which is lived, perchance only for a brief season, yet known to fame among men, and not lacking in wisdom, prowess, or glory A very crow lives a long time and devours the food that is thrown to it 12

A small rivulet is easily filled, easily filled are a mouse's paws Easily contented is a contemptible man, a mere trifle contents him 13

His mind is void of discernment between good and evil, he takes no part in the many observances prescribed in the Sacred Word, he has no desire but the mere filling of his belly,—what difference is there between a beast and a beast-of-a-man? 14

(The noble ox draws heavy wagons, and eats grass [rather than meat], over hard and easy spots alike he draws the plow, he is a benefit to the world, and his origin is pure, these are his distinctions over the beast-in-human-form" 15)

(36) Karataka said· "But you see we are not in office, (so) what have we to do with this business?" (37) Said the other "(My friend,) how little time is needed for one who is not in office to come into office! (And it is said:)

'Tis not by the power of any [patron] that one is rated as noble or base in this world Naught but what he does himself

brings a man to distinction in this world, or to the opposite condition. 16

As a stone is brought to the top of a hill with great labor, but is rolled down with ease, so it is with the soul in regard to good qualities and faults 17

(38) Therefore, my friend, be assured that every one is dependent on his own self" (39) Karataka said "Then what do you intend to do (in this matter)? ' (40) Said he "It is evident that this our lord (Piṅgalaka) is a coward. and his followers too, and that he is dull of wit " (41) Said the other "How do you know, Sir?" Damanaka replied· "'Tis easy to know that It is said

A mere beast understands words that are spoken, horses and elephants move in response to the whip The wise man divines even what is not exprest; for the fruit of intelligence lies in understanding the mien of others 18

(42) Accordingly I shall (catch him in his state of fright and) bring him under my control this very day, by the power of my wit ' (43) Karataka said "My friend, you are ignorant of the laws of [royal] service, (so) how will you bring him under your control?" (44) Damanaka replied: "My friend, how [can you say that] I am ignorant of [royal] service? Surely I am skilled in all the principles of courtiership And it is said·

What burden is too heavy for the strong? What is distance to the resolute? What land is foreign to the learned? Who is an enemy to them that speak kindly?" 19

(45) Karataka said "Perchance our lord may contemn you for entering his presence at an untimely moment" (46) Said the other "True, but nevertheless (a courtier dare not fail to approach [his lord]. And it is said)

A king favors only the man that is near him, tho he be ignorant, of base extraction, and a stranger Kings, women, and creeping vines as a rule embrace whatever is beside them. 20

Servants who are close to the king can discern the causes of his displeasure and his grace, and so gradually gain the ascendancy over him, even tho he resist them"[7] 21

(47) Karaṭaka said. "Then what will you say, Sir, when you arrive in his presence? ' Damanaka said.

[7] The last clause contains a word-play "gradually climb him [as a tree], even tho he shake [in the wind]"

"Response will spring from response, and from that response another speech, just as another seed grows out of a seed upon which plenteous rain has bestowed its blessing 22 (And again)

The disaster that follows from the application of bad plans, and the success that follows from the application of good plans, are connected with the principles of polity, and shine forth in advance, so to speak, so that the intelligent can point them out 23

(48) And I shall not speak out of season

If Bṛhaspati[8] himself should speak an untimely word, his intelligence would be despised and he would meet only with contempt 24

One who speaks aright never says his say at an unsuitable place or time, nor before one of immature faculties or without excellence This is why his words are not spoken in vain 25

And again

A good quality by which one gains his livelihood, and for which he is praised in public by the good,—such a quality should be tended and increast by him who possesses it ' 26

(49) Karataka said "But it is hard to win the favor of kings They are like mountains, for they are always harsh [punningly, of mountains, rugged] by nature, and surrounded by vicious men [crowded with beasts of prey], (and they are on the lookout for faults [they are explored thru clefts],) and they make use of fraud [they harbor treacherous monsters?] (Because)

(Kings are like snakes, in that they are luxurious [punningly· they have coils], and are covered with armor [snake-skins], they are savage, and act [move] crookedly; they possess nostrils [hoods, of serpents], and can be managed by good counsel [by snake-charms] " 27.)

(50) Said the other "This is true Nevertheless

If men are only shrewd enuf, they may even serve kings, eat poison, and dally with women 28 (And again:)

Whatever the native disposition of any man may be, the wise man, by making use of it, can force an entrance and quickly get him into his power " 29

(51) Karataka said· "Good luck go with you; do what you think best " (52) (Thereupon) Damanaka (took leave of him and cautiously) approacht Piṅgalaka (53) Then Piṅgalaka saw

[8] Preceptor of the gods, and god of wisdom.

Damanaka coming (while yet afar off) and said to his door-keepers ' Lay aside your staves of office (without delay) This is Damanaka, our hereditary minister of long standing (, who is coming), he has the right of entering freely (since he belongs to the Second Circle)" (54) Then Damanaka approacht and bowed and took his seat (in a place assigned him by Piñgalaka) (55) And the latter (laid upon him his right hand, adorned with claws like thunderbolts,[9] and) said courteously (56) "(Peace be with you) It is long since I have seen you (Why is this?) ' (57) Damanaka said "Your Majesty has had no need of my services And yet, when the time comes, it is not permissible (for ministers) to refrain from speaking (That is why I have come) (58) Because there is no one whom kings cannot use in some way or other And it is said

To pick their teeth, O king or else to scratch their ears, princes may make use of a blade of grass, how much more of a man, who has a voice and hands! 30 And again·

The quality of fortitude cannot be destroyed in a man whose nature contains it, even tho he be used despitefully Tho a light be turned downwards, its flames never by any chance go down 31

If a serpent, colored like the [dark-blue] cuckoo, or like the eyes on a peacock's tail, or like eye-pigment, be trodden upon with the sole of the foot at an inopportune time, and if it fail to show its viciousness, having some reason in mind, is it safe to believe that it has lost its venom? 32

(Therefore, O king)

Be ever discriminating in regard to your kingdom and your people, for success depends solely on recognition of the differences between men 33.

(And this is well said)

The husbandman may mix all the seeds together and sow them, (but) he must judge the goodness of the seeds by the sprouts, when they have sprung up 34

(59) Therefore the king must (at all times) be discriminating And so

Servants and ornaments are to be used only in their proper places For a man does not fasten a crest-gem on his foot, simply because he has the power to do so. 35

[9] Or, "hatchets"

If a gem worthy to be encased in an ornament of gold be set in tin, it makes no complaint and does not cease to be resplendent, [but] blame falls on him who uses it so 36

If a king knows how to distinguish between his servants, saying 'This one is wise, this one faithful, this one both, that one foolish'—he gets an abundance of servants 37

If he is levelled with his inferiors, if he fails of the respect shown his equals, and if he is unworthily employed,—for these three reasons a servant may desert his patron 38

(60) Moreover, we are Your Majesty's hereditary servants, even in adversity we follow you (, for we have no other recourse, this is a saying that applies to ministers And it is said)

What noble man would stay for a single moment where no distinction is made between right-hand and left-hand,—if he had any other place to go? 39

(When a lord makes no distinctions but behaves in the same way to [all] his servants, then even the vigorous ones lose their energy 40)

The difference between [different] horses, elephants, and metals, between woods, stones, and garments, between women, men, and waters, is a great difference 41

(Now it is said, in a proverb about distinctions)

Surely the fool who aspires to carry a thousand *bharas*[10] of stone on his shoulders must become weary or die, even as he carries the load. 42

[But] when a discriminating man gets a ruby, which is only as large as the thick of the thumb, it is easy for him to carry, and can he not make great profit therefrom? 43

(61) (Therefore differences of character among servants arise simply from the qualities of their lords And how so?)

A horse, arms, scientific knowledge, a lute, speech, a man and a woman are either useless or useful according to differences in the men to whom they belong. 44

(62) And if you should hold me in contempt because I am a jackal, this also would be wrong For.

Viṣṇu assumed the form of a boar, the great seer [Ṛṣyaśṛṅga] had the form of a deer, and the Six-faced [Skanda, god of war]

[10] A certain heavy weight, literally, "a load."

the form of a goat, are they not honored by the righteous? 45 (And again)

This is not an invariably sound principle, that a servant born in the household and of long standing is always preferable, but rather he who is a faithful counsellor 46 (For thus [it is said])

Tho a mouse is born in the household, it is to be destroyed, because it is injurious, while you obtain a cat from strangers by offering gifts, because it is serviceable 47

Just as no wood-work can be done with the castor-oil plant, or with *bhinda* or *arka* plants, or with reeds, tho one collect great quantities of them, so there is no way of using fools 48.

What is the use of one who is faithful but incompetent? What is the use of one who is competent but injurious? Both faithful and competent am I, O King, know me for what I am 49 And again

If a king is without understanding, it follows that he has unintelligent men in his retinue Then, because of their dominance, no wise man will appear in his train Since the kingdom is bereft of wise men, its statesmanship is ineffective. And with the loss of statesmanship, the whole tribe goes to certain ruin and the king along with it" 50

(63) Piñgalaka said· "Friend (Damanaka), speak not thus; you are our hereditary minister (of long standing)" (64) Damanaka said· "Sire, I have something to say to you" (65) Said he "Say what you wish" Damanaka said· (66) "My lord started out to get a drink, (then) why has he stopt (here and turned back without drinking of the water, as if startled by something)?" (67) Piñgalaka, to conceal what was in his mind, said. "(Damanaka,) there is no special reason" (68) Said he: "Sire, if it is something that may not be told, then let it be" (69) (Then) when Piñgalaka heard this, he reflected "(He has seen thru me, and it appears that) he is a proper person, so (why should I conceal anything from this faithful follower?) I will tell him what is in my mind." And he said: (70) ("Damanaka, hear this loud noise that comes from afar!" Said he "My lord, I hear the noise very plainly What of it?" Piñgalaka said) (71) "My friend, I mean to leave this forest, because this must be some unheard-of being that has come in here, whose loud (and strange) noise we now hear. And the being must be

of a sort corresponding to the noise, and his prowess must correspond to his being [11] Therefore I can certainly not remain here " (72) Damanaka said "Can it be that my lord has been frightened by a mere sound? (That also is wrong And further)

A dam is destroyed by water, counsel is likewise destroyed by not being kept [secret], friendship is destroyed by backbiting; a coward may be destroyed by words 51

(73) So it is not right for my lord to abandon this forest that he has possest so long because of a mere sound (74) For sounds of many different kinds are heard here, but they are mere sounds and nothing else, and there is no reason for being frightened by them For instance, (we hear sounds) of (thunder from the clouds, pipes, lutes, drums, tabors, conch-shells, bells, wagons, doors,) engines, and other things, (and) there is no need to be afraid of them And it is said

At first indeed I thot 'Surely this is full of fat' But when I got into it, I discovered that it was [nothing but] skin and wood " 52

(75) Pingalaka said "How was that?" Damanaka said

STORY 2 JACKAL AND DRUM

(76) Once upon a time there was a jackal whose throat was lean with hunger, and who was wandering (about hither and yon in the forest in search of food), when he saw a battle-ground of two armies (77) And there he heard a loud noise (78) His heart was smitten with alarm at this, and he thot: "(What can this be?) I am lost! (Whence comes this noise? And what sort of creature makes it, and where is he?)" (79) (Thereupon,) when he made search for it, he found a drum, in form like a mountain-peak (80) And seeing it he reflected "Can this noise be made by that thing of itself, or does something else make it?" (81) Now as the drum was toucht by the tips of (the branches of) a tree waving in the wind, it made a noise (, while otherwise it was still) (82) But he went up close to it to find out what it amounted to, (83) (and himself struck it on both its faces to see what would happen,) (84) and he thot "(Ha! At last) I have found in this thing a fine meal! (Surely it must be crammed full of quantities of meat and fat

[11] The Sanskrit word translated "being" contains a kind of word-play, it means both "creature" and "nature," also "courage"

and blood!)" (85) Then he tore open the face of the drum and crawled in (And the skin was so hard that he almost broke his teeth) (86) But he found not a thing in it (87) And turning back he (laught to himself and) said· "At first indeed I thot,' &c

(End of Story 2)

(88) "Therefore (I say) You should not be afraid of a mere noise (89) (However,) if you think best, I will go where that noise comes from and find out all about it" (90) Piṅgalaka said "Do you really dare go up to it?" "Most certainly," said he Piṅgalaka said: '(My friend, in that case) go (, and good luck go with you)" (91) Damanaka (bowed to him and) started out in the direction of the noise (made by Saṃjīvaka) (92) Now when Damanaka was gone, Piṅgalaka's heart was smitten with fear, and he thot 'Look, I have not done well in putting confidence in this fellow and telling him what was in my mind (93) (Perchance this Damanaka may be disaffected towards me and may try double-dealing) (94) And it is said [12] Those who have been honored and are then dishonored, those who have been rejected, the resentful, the greedy, the ruined, and those who have volunteered their services, (these one can ward off by guile [But]) those who are very poor and opprest by taxation, those who have been first invited and then driven away, those who have been slighted in regard to a work of art or decoration tho they have done equally good work [with others who were not slighted], those who have been mortified by exile, who have been put in the shade by their equals, from whom honors have been withdrawn, also those who have been given too many things to do, and aspirants [for the throne] from the same family, these do not yield their rights [13] even in constant association,[14] and must be tested in every possible way Now this [Damanaka] may perchance conceive that honors have been withdrawn from him, in which case he may be disaffected towards *me* Or else, because he is powerless himself,

[12] The passage which follows is an inexact quotation from the Kāutilīya Arthaśāstra, attributed to Cāṇakya, see page 271, note 1, and page 274, note 2

[13] Or, "depart from their nature."

[14] Or, possibly, "at the time of a clash?"

he might cleave unto the stronger and be neutral towards me (In that case too I should surely be ruined) (95) So I will (certainly) go (from this spot) to another place, until I find out what he intends to do" Thus reflecting he moved to another place and remained there (quite alone), looking along the road (which Damanaka had taken) (96) But Damanaka went to where Saṃjīvaka was And when he saw that it was [only] a bull, he (was delighted and) went back towards Piṅgalaka (97) But Piṅgalaka returned to his former position, to conceal the expression of his countenance, thinking "Otherwise this Damanaka will think that I am a coward and my followers too" (98) And when Damanaka arrived in the presence of Piṅgalaka, he bowed to him and sat down (99) Piṅgalaka said "Well, Sir, have you seen that creature?" Damanaka replied. "I have (by Your Majesty's grace)" (100) Piṅgalaka said "Have you seen him as he really is?" Damanaka said "Yes' (101) Said he "You have not seen him as he really is, for you are a person of no high station, and since you are powerless he would not oppose you Since

The hurricane does not uproot grasses, which are pliant and bow low before it on every side It is only the lofty trees that it attacks A mighty man exerts his prowess only against the mighty 53 (And again)

Tho the rutting elephant is assailed upon his temples by the feet of the bees as they roam about mad with longing for the rut-fluid,[15] he does not wax angry at them, in spite of his excessive might The powerful show anger only against their equals in power" 54.

(102) Damanaka said. "(Why, I knew in advance that my lord would say this) Now, to make a long story short, I will bring him in person into Your Majesty's presence (here)" (103) (And hearing this) Piṅgalaka was delighted and said· "Do so at once" (104) (But) Damanaka went back and spoke insultingly to Saṃjīvaka· (105) "Come here, come here, wretch (of a bull)! The Lord Piṅgalaka says to you· 'Why do you make bold to keep bellowing constantly for no reason?'" (106) (Hearing this)

[15] Hindu poetry is full of references to the alleged fact that bees swarm eagerly to taste a fluid which is said to exude from the temples of rutting elephants

Samjīvaka said "Friend, who is this person Piṅgalaka (that sends this message to me)?" (107) (Then) Damanaka (laught in amazement and) said (to him) (108) "What! Can it be that you do not even know the Lord Piṅgalaka? (You will know him by his fruits!" he added ironically.) "Why, the Lord Piṅgalaka is that (mighty lion, the) king of the beasts, who stands attended by all the beasts (near the Fig-tree of the Circles, his soul exalted in grandeur)." (109) When Samjīvaka heard this, he thot he was as good as dead, and was plunged in deepest despair, and he said (110) "If I really must come, then let me be granted the boon of a safe-conduct." (111) ("Very well," agreed) Damanaka (, and he) returned to the lion and reported the matter to him and got his consent, and he conducted Samjīvaka into Piṅgalaka's presence (as agreed). (112) (And Samjīvaka saluted him respectfully and stood modestly before him.) (113) And he laid upon him his right hand, (plump, round, and long, and adorned with claws like thunderbolts[16] in place of ornaments,) and said courteously (114) "(Peace be with you.) Whence have you come into this uninhabited forest?" (115) (In reply to this question) Samjīvaka told all that had happened to him before (, how he had been separated from the merchant Vardhamānaka). (116) (And) hearing this Piṅgalaka said "Friend, fear not, dwell at your pleasure in this wood which is protected by my arm. (Moreover, you had best remain constantly near me, because this wood is full of dangers, since it is crowded with all manner of ferocious beasts." Samjīvaka replied "As Your Majesty commands.") (117) (When he had spoken thus, Piṅgalaka, attended by all the beasts, went down to the bank of the Jumna and drank his fill of water, and returned again to his royal residence in that same wood, roaming about undisturbed.) (118) Thenceforth (those two,) Piṅgalaka and Samjīvaka past the time (day by day) in mutually affectionate intercourse. (119) And since Samjīvaka had applied his mind to the subjects of many sciences, (in a very short time) he taught Piṅgalaka wisdom, altho Piṅgalaka had previously been ignorant (because he was a forest-dweller). (120) (In short, every day) Piṅgalaka and Saṁjīvaka conferred alone on secret matters with one another, and all the rest of the beasts were

[16] Or, "hatchets."

kept at a distance (121) And there was a dearth of food (resulting from the killings of the lion's prowess), so that (even) Karataka and Damanaka (were ravenous with hunger, and they) took counsel with one another (122) Then Damanaka said (Friend) Karataka, (we are ruined Now what can we do in these circumstances?) I myself was responsible for this trouble, in that I brought Saṃjīvaka to Piṅgalaka And it is said

The jackal by the rams' fight, and I by Āsādhabhūti and the procuress by the weaver —[these] three afflictions were self-caused " (55)

(123) Karataka said "How was that?' Said he

STORY 3a MONK AND SWINDLER

(124) In a certain region there was a monk named Devaśarman (125) In the course of time he had gained a large fortune thru the acquisition of fine garments of excellence, which various pious people had presented to him (126) (And he trusted no one) (127) Now (once upon a time) a thief named Āsāḍhabhūti (observed this money, which he carried in his waist-pocket, and) meditated "How can I steal this money from him?" And he presented himself to the monk as a pupil, and in time won his confidence (128) (Now) once upon a time that monk started on a journey with this same Āsāḍhabhūti, to make a pilgrimage to holy places (129) And in the course of the journey in a certain wooded region he left Āsāḍhabhūti with the money (near the bank of a river) and went aside to get water

STORY 3b RAMS AND JACKAL

(130) (And there by the edge of the water) he saw a (great) fight of rams (131) And as they fought with all their strength and without rest, a great quantity of blood flowed from between their branching horns and fell upon the ground A (certain foolish) jackal saw this, and (his mind was aroused by the hope [of eating it], and in his eagerness for meat) he ran up between the two rams (as they separated leaving some distance between them), to get at the blood And when they came together (again) he was killed by the shock of their impact (132) Then the monk was filled with amazement, and said. "The jackal by the rams' fight"

(End of Story 3b)

(133) And (having purified himself) he returned to that place, but as for Āṣādhabhūti, (he had taken the whole pile of money and run away, and) Devaśarman could not find him (134) (But all he saw was a discarded triple staff, [fire-]wood, a water-vessel, a sieve, and a [tooth-]brush)[17] (135) (And he reflected "Where is that Āṣādhabhūti? He must have robbed me" And in great distress) he said "And I by Āṣādhabhūti

(End of Story 3a)

STORY 3c CUCKOLD WEAVER AND BAWD

(136) Then that monk (, having nothing left but his half-skull [used as drinking-vessel] and the [empty] knot in his robe [in which he had carried the money], went off searching for the rogue's tracks, and) as the sun was setting entered a certain village (137) (As he entered) he met a weaver (who lived in the edge of the village) and askt of him a lodging for the night (138) And he showed him to quarters in a part of his house, and said to his wife "While I (am gone to town and) am drinking liquor with my friends, until I return, do you carefully tend the house" After thus instructing her he departed (139) (Now) his wife was unchaste And when a procuress came and prest her to go, she (donned her adornments and) started out to go to her lover (140) Just then her husband came home and met her, his garments awry, with staggering gait, and so badly under the influence of liquor that he could not speak his words plainly (141) And when she saw him, (with presence of mind) she (deftly took off her adornments and) put on her ordinary garb as before, and began to wash the feet [of the guest], (prepare his bed,) and the like (142) But the weaver entered the house and began to scold her "Harlot! My friends have been telling me of your evil actions. All right! I will pay you back richly!" So saying he beat her with blows of a stick until she was black and blue, and tied her fast with a rope to the post (in the middle [of the house]), and then went to sleep (143) At this time the procuress, a

[17] All these are implements carried by the brahman-pupil, the swindler had assumed them to trick the monk, and after accomplishing his purpose had discarded them

barber's wife, (when she perceived that the weaver was asleep,) came in again and said: "That (fine) fellow is consumed with the fire of longing for you, so that he is like to die. (144) So I will release you and bind myself in your place; do you (go thither and) console him (—you know whom—) and come back quickly." So the barber's wife releast her from her bonds and sent her off to her lover. (145) After this the weaver awoke, sobered, and began to scold her in the same way as before. (146) But the procuress was frightened, and did not dare speak with her strange voice [lest she be recognized], and she held her peace. (147) He however kept on saying the same things to her. And when she gave him no answer, at last he cried out angrily: "Are you so proud that you will not so much as answer what I say?" and he arose and cut off her nose with a sharp knife, and said: "Have that for your decoration! Who will be interested in you now?" (148) So saying he went to sleep again. (149) Then the weaver's wife returned and askt the procuress: "What news (with you)? (What did he say when he woke up? Tell me, tell me!)" (150) (But) the procuress (, who had received the punishment, showed her her nose, and) said in an ill humor: "You can see what the news is! Let me loose and I will go." (151) She did so, and she departed, taking her nose with her. (152) The weaver's wife (however) arranged herself as she had been before, with a semblance of bonds.

(153) But the weaver awoke and began to scold her in the same way as before. (154) Then she said to him angrily and reproachfully: "Fie, wicked man! Who could dare to disfigure me, a pure and faithful wife? (155) Hear (me), ye Rulers of the World-regions![18] As surely as I know (even in my thots) no strange man, no one other than the husband of my youth, by this truth let my face be undisfigured!" (Having spoken thus she said to her husband again.) "O most wicked man! Behold my face! (It has become just as it was before!)" (156) Then that (stupid) man's mind was bewildered by her tricky words. He lighted a lamp, and beheld his wife with her face undisfigured. (157) His eyes bulged; (his heart was filled with joy, and kissing her) he releast her (from her bonds, and fell

[18] "Lokapālas," epithet of four (or eight) chief gods as guardians of the cardinal (and semi-cardinal) points of the compass.

at her feet,) and embraced her passionately and carried her to the bed (158) But the monk remained on the spot, having seen the whole occurrence (from the very beginning)

(159) (And) that procuress, with her nose in her hands, went home, thinking "(What can I do now?) How can I conceal this (great disaster)? (160) Now her husband, the barber, came back home at dawn from another place, and said to his wife (161) "Bring me my razor-case, (my dear,) I have to go to work in the king's palace" (162) And she did not move from the inside of the house, but threw out to him a razor only (163) And because she did not hand him the whole razor-case, the barber's heart was filled with wrath, and he threw that same razor at her (164) Then she raised a (loud) cry of anguish, and rubbed her nostrils (with her hand), and threw her nose (dripping with blood) on the ground, and said. (165) "Help! Help! This (wicked) man has mutilated me, tho he has found no fault in me!" (166) Then the policemen came, and saw that she was obviously mutilated, (167) and beat the barber soundly with blows of their sticks, and (afterwards) bound him (firmly) and took him (along with her) to the seat of judgment (168) And the judges askt him "Why did you maltreat your wife thus (cruelly)?" And (when, in spite of repeated questioning,) he made no reply, (169) then the judges ordered that he be impaled upon a stake (170) Now as he was being taken to the place of execution, the monk, who had observed the whole course of events, saw him, and went to the court and said to the judges (171) "This barber is innocent of wrong-doing, do not have him impaled (For) hear (these) three marvels!

The jackal by the rams' fight, and I by Āsādhabhūti, and the procuress by the weaver —[these] three afflictions were self-caused" 56

(172) And when the judges had learned the true facts of the case, they spared the barber

(End of Story 3 c and of the entire third story)

(173) Therefore I say "The jackal by the rams' fight" &c (174) Karaṭaka said "Then what action do you think would suit the present case?" (175) Damanaka said "(Friend, even)

in a case like this the wise have, after all, the power of saving themselves (And it is said)

Counsel that is directed to reviving a lost cause, to gaining a future advantage, or to preventing a losing course of action—that is the highest counsel 57

(176) Now this Piṅgalaka is in a state of (serious) evil (Therefore) he must be detacht from this (Saṃjīvaka) (Because)

When a king is so deluded as to become attacht to evil, surely his servants must use every effort to save him from it, by the means described in [political] science " 58

(177) Karataka said "In what evil is our lord Piṅgalaka? (178) For there are seven evils (that pertain to kings) in this world (Namely)

Women, dice, hunting, drinking, and harshness of speech for the fifth, and serious harshness in punishments, and likewise violence to [the] property [of others] " 59

(179) Damanaka said. ' (My friend,) this is just one evil, named Vice (, it has seven forms) " (180) Karataka said "How is this just one evil?" (181) Damanaka replied "(You must know that) there are (in this world) five basic evils, namely Deficiency, Tumult, Vice, Affliction, and Bad Policy "[19] (182) (Karataka said "What is the distinction between them?' Damanaka said) (183) "(Now first among them the evil known as) Deficiency is to be defined as occurring when there is a deficiency of even a single one of the following ruler, minister, nation, stronghold, treasury, army, or ally (184) (But) when the internal elements or the external elements[20] are in a state of agitation [against the king], (either one at a time or all at once,) that evil is (to be known as) Tumult (185) Vice has

[19] What follows, thru § 188, is a technical disquisition on political science, based on the same material that is found in the first part of the eighth book of the Kāutilīya Arthaśāstra, attributed to Cānakya

[20] Hertel takes the "elements" (prakṛti) to refer to the list just mentioned in § 183 (ruler, minister, &c) These are, however, with the possible exception of the "ally," only the "internal" elements (of the state) Besides these there are the "external" elements, namely the corresponding elements of the hostile, "middling" (madhyama) and "neutral" (udāsīna) states, and of the ally (mitra) and "ally's ally" of each of these, making a total of seventy-two political elements or prakṛtis This is set forth in the Kāutilīya Arthaśāstra, Book 6, Chapter 2 (1st ed, page 259) That the hostile state is included

been already explained above (in the verse 'women dice, hunting, &c) Of these 'women, dice, hunting, and drinking constitute the group [of vices] that are due to pleasure, while 'harshness of speech' and the rest constitute the group that are due to wrath One who is freed from those that are due to pleasure may become entangled in those that are due to wrath The group of those due to pleasure is very easy to comprehend (186) But I shall [now] define the three varieties that are due to wrath If one is inclined to hate others and is given to reciting their (failings and) faults (heedlessly), that is harshness of speech The merciless application of the penalties of death, imprisonment, and mutilation, (when they are not called for,) is harshness in punishments Relentless grasping after [the] possessions [of others] is violence to property Such is the seven-fold evil of Vice (187) Affliction (however) is eightfold it comes from accident ['fate'], fire, water, disease, pestilence, cholera, famine, or fiendish rain Excessive rain (or lack of rain [?]) is what is called fiendish rain So this is what is to be understood by (the evil of) Affliction (188) (Now I shall explain) Bad Policy When there is erroneous application of the six forms of policy, that is, peace, war, march, waiting policy, alliance with a powerful helper, and double dealing, when one makes war at a time appropriate to peace, or peace at the time for war, or when in like manner he runs counter to any other of the six forms of policy (then) that is (to be understood as) the evil of Bad Policy (189) Therefore this Piṅgalaka must by all means be detacht from Saṃjīvaka (For if there is no lamp, there can be no light)" (190) Karataka said ' You have no power, (so) how will you separate them?" (191) Damanaka replied "(Friend, I must devise a trick And it is said)

By guile, verily, can be done what cannot be done by violence The female crow by a gold chain compast the death of the cobra " 60.

(192) Karataka said "(And) how was that?" Said he:

among the "elements" is likewise indicated strikingly in the work named, Book 7, Chapter 7, opening sentence (1st ed , page 281), where the enemy is called the "second element" *(dvitīyā prakṛti)* I find in the work named no use of the terms "internal" and "external" elements, but it seems clear that the distinction must be that which I have indicated

STORY 4 CROWS AND SERPENT

(193) Once upon a time in a certain locality there was a tree, in which dwelt a pair of crows (194) But when they brought forth young, a cobra was in the habit of crawling up the hollow trunk of the tree and eating the young crows (before they learned to fly) (195) Then they, in despair, askt a close friend of theirs, a jackal who lived at the foot (of another tree) (196) "Friend, what, think you, would it be well for us to do in such a case? (Since your young are murdered, it is the same as if we, their parents, were slain)" Said he "Do not despair in this matter Only by craft can that (greedy) creature surely be destroyed

After eating many fish, best, worst, and middling, a heron grew too greedy and so at last met his death by seizing a crab" 61

(197) The crows said "(And) how was that?" Said he

STORY 5 HERON AND CRAB

(198) In a certain region there was a lake that was full of all kinds of fish And a certain heron made his home there, who had come to old age and was unable to kill fish (199) So he went to the edge of the lake and made himself appear dejected, and waited (200) There was a crab there, (who was surrounded by many fish,) and he said (201) "(Uncle,) why are you not trying to get food today (as you used to)?" (202) The heron said. "I am an eater of fish (, so I will speak to you without guile) Heretofore I have sustained my life by getting hold of you (At present, my means of livelihood is this day destroyed, that is why I am downcast)" (203) (Said he "Uncle, how is that?" The heron said) (204) "Today some fishermen past near this lake and said (205) 'This lake has plenty of fish, we will throw the net into it tomorrow' Then one of them said 'There are other lakes near the town which we have not yet visited, we will visit them and then come back here' (206) So, my friend, you are all as good as done for, and I (also) am ruined, because my source of livelihood will be cut off. And that is why (I am so grieved that) I am abstaining from food (today)." (207) Then the crab told this to the fish Thereupon all the fish came together and

said (to the heron). (208) "From the very source whence danger is traditionally said to come, a means of escape may (also) come. So be so good as to save us!" (209) The heron said "I (am a bird and) cannot cope with men However, I will convey you (one at a time) from this lake to another pond, that is not shallow" (210) Thereupon (because they were so frightened) they trusted in him and said to him "(Little father! Brother! Uncle!) Take me! Me first!" (211) So that villain took the fish one after another and threw them down on a flat rock not far away, and ate them one at a time, and enjoyed himself vastly (212) But the crab was in deadly fear of losing his life, and (repeatedly) implored him (213) "(Uncle, pray) be good enuf to save me too (from the jaws of death)" (214) But that (wretched) creature thot "(I am tired of this monotonous fish-meat;) I will taste the delicious meat of this [crab], which I have never had before" (215) Then he pickt up the crab and flew thru the air, (not going near a single pool of water,) until he was about to throw him down on that rock (on which he did the killing), (216) when the crab caught sight of the pile of bones of the fish that had been eaten already And at that he thot (217) "This villain has (trickt and) eaten the fish (So what would be a timely thing to do now?) At any rate

When a wise man is attackt and sees no escape for himself, then he dies fighting along with his foe" 62

(218) So the foolish heron, who knew nothing about the grip of the crab's pincers, got his head cut off by the crab (219) But the crab (took the heron's neck, like a lotus-stem, and) very slowly crawled back to that same lake (where the fish were) (220) And they said to him "(Brother,) where is our uncle yonder?" (221) Then he said "He is dead. (Here is the villain's head.) By his trickery he ate many of your companions, but he met his death thru me"

(End of Story 5)

(222) Therefore I say: "After eating many fish" &c (223) (Then) the male crow said to the jackal: "What do you think it timely (for us) to do?" (224) Said he: "Get a gold chain that belongs to some rich man, (a king or minister or the like,)

and put it in the snake's hole (225) The people who come to get it will kill the snake" (226) (So speaking the jackal departed) (227) Then the two crows (, hearing this,) flew up (and soared about at random looking for a gold chain). (228) And soon the female crow came to a certain lake, and when she lookt, she saw that the members of a king's harem were playing in the water of the lake, having laid aside near the water their gold chains, pearl necklaces, garments, and other finery (229) Then the female crow pickt up a gold chain and set out thru the air towards her own home, but slowly, so as not to get out of sight (230) Thereupon when the chamberlains (and eunuchs) perceived the theft of the chain, they (took their sticks and quickly) pursued But the female crow deposited the gold chain in the snake's hole, and waited a long way off (231) Now when the king's officers climbed the tree, (in the trunk) they found the cobra (with his hood expanded) (232) And they killed him (with blows of their sticks) (233) (When they had done this they took the gold chain and departed, going where they would But the pair of crows from that time forth dwelt in peace)

(End of Story 4)

(234) Therefore I say "By guile, verily, can be done" &c (235) "(So there is nothing in this world which clever people cannot accomplish.) And it is said

Whosoever has wit, has power, but as for the foolish, how can he be powerful? Behold how the lion Haughty was destroyed by the hare!" 63

(236) Karataka said "How was that?" Said he

STORY 6 LION AND HARE

(237) In a certain forest-region there was a lion named Haughty (238) (And) he kept up a continuous slaughter of the beasts (239) Then all the beasts came together and humbly addrest the king of beasts (240) "Sire, what profit is there in this (pitiless and) purposeless slaughtering of all the beasts (, which endangers your lordship's prospects in the next world)? (241) It is evident that we are utterly undone [by it], and you also will fail of sustenance, so that it is fatal to both parties

(242) (So grant us this favor.) We ourselves will send to your lordship for your food one wild creature every day (, from each tribe in turn) (243) The lion said "Agreed" From that time on they sent him a single beast each day, and he continually ate the same (244) Now once upon a time (as the lot past from tribe to tribe) it came the turn of a hare (245) (But) he, when all the beasts sent him forth, reflected (246) "This means the end of me, I am entering the jaws of death What now would be a timely thing for me to do? (247) Yet after all, is anything impossible for the clever? (So) I will kill the *lion* by craft." (248) Thereupon he proceeded very slowly, so that he arrived too late (for dinner-time) (249) But the lion, his throat lean with hunger, was filled with rage and said (to him furiously)· (250) "No matter how angry one is, killing is the worst thing one can do! (You are a dead creature this day Tell me,) why this delay on your part?" (251) Then the hare (bowed and) said courteously "My lord, it is not my fault (252) (As I was coming along) another lion stopt me on the road and was going to eat me (And I said: 'I am going to our lord the lion Haughty, to serve as his dinner' Then he said 'That Haughty is a thief So go and call him and return quickly, that whichever of us two shall prove himself king by his prowess may eat all of these beasts') So I have come to report this to my lord" (253) Hearing this the lion said angrily 'How can there be another lion here (in this wood ruled by my right arm)! (Go and) show me the scoundrel quickly!" The hare said· "(In that case) come, my lord, and I will show him to you" (254) (But) he (, the hare) took him and showed him a deep well full of clear water, saying "Look there! (There he is!)" (255) (Then) that fool (of a lion) saw his own image in the water, and thot "This is that rival of mine," and was furiously angry (And he roared his lion's roar Thereupon a roar of redoubled strength came back out of the well, because of the echo from it And when the lion heard this roar, he thot "He must be exceedingly strong!") And he hurled himself upon him, and perisht (256) But the hare, being overjoyed himself and having brought joy to all the beasts, received their grateful thanks and dwelt in that wood in peace

(End of Story 6)

(257) Therefore I say "Whosoever has wit has power" &c (258) (When he heard this) Karataka said "In that case go, and good luck go with you (Do as you think best)" (259) Then Damanaka went up to Piñgalaka and saluted him and sat down (260) He said 'Whence[21] come you? It is a long time since I have seen you" (261) Said he "Sire, I have come to report a matter which (as I believe) is of immediate danger And this is not a pleasant thing for dependants to do, the fact is that they tell such things only because of the danger that time [lost by their failure to speak] will bring ruin to future projects [of their master][22] For thus [it is said]

When wise men who are not even appointed ministers offer their advice, they form the best soil for the growth of attachment, watered by affection' 64

(262) (Then) Piñgalaka said courteously (to him, because his words appeared worthy of credence) "What do you wish to say, Sir?" (263) Said he "Why, it is just this this Samjīvaka has a mind to harm you (264) In a moment of confidence he said in my presence 'I have now found out just how much the three-fold power[23] of this Piñgalaka amounts to Therefore I intend to kill him and seize the kingdom myself'" (265) (And) when Piñgalaka heard this (speech, which smote him with more irresistible force than a thunderbolt), his heart was stunned, he was completely bewildered, and could say nothing at all (266) (But) Damanaka (, observing his expression,) said "It is clear that this great weakness has come about thru the dominance of a single minister And this is well said

When minister and prince are raised to too high a position, Fortune tries to hold them up, fixing her feet firmly, but since she is a woman, she cannot support the load, and lets one of the two fall 65

When a king gives one minister absolute power in the kingdom, the minister is infatuated and grows proud, with the

[21] Or, "wherefore"

[22] Hertel's rendering of this last clause seems impossible *Uttara* cannot possibly mean "Aussage", here it means the same as *samanantara* of Pn; literally, "by subsequent-affair-time-ruin-fearing ones"

[23] A technical term of political science the three-fold power consists of *prabhutva* "eminence of position," *mantra* "good counsel," and *utsāha* "prowess"

indolence or pride he develops a loathing [for the service], because of this loathing, a desire for independence finds a place in his heart, and then, in his desire for independence, he plots against the king s life 66

In the case of poisoned food, a loose tooth, or a wicked minister, the only relief is to get rid of them utterly[24] 67

(267) And he (is now quite uncheckt and) holds sway in all matters at his own sweet will So what should be done in such a case? (Moreover)

Even a wholly devoted minister, if he is managing the affairs [of state] in a way that injures the [king's] interests, must not be let alone by the king If let alone he ruins him " 68

(268) (And hearing this the lion said "But surely he is such a servant as I never had! How can he be disaffected towards me? ") (269) (Said he· " Sire, whether he is your servant or not, no conclusion can be safely inferred from that And it is said)

There is no man who does not long for the majesty of kings But it is men who are humbled and powerless that wait upon a prince ' 69

(270) The lion said " Friend, nevertheless my heart will not turn against him For

Tho it be disfigured by many defects, to whom is his own body not dear? Tho he commit crimes, one who is beloved is beloved still " 70

(271) Damanaka said "That is just the cause of your difficulty You have set aside all the beasts, (my lord,) and fixt your regard upon him, and (now) he lusts after the kingship Moreover

If a king shows too much regard for one person, be he his own son or [another] kinsman, he surely steals from him the heart of Fortune 71

(272) (And if you think his great stature will be useful to you, this also is a mistake For)

(What is the use of an elephant [whose temples are] flowing [with the rut-fluid], but who does not do an elephant's work? On high ground or low ground, better is one that does his work 72)

(273) (Therefore, Sire, this is no way to succeed.)

[24] Literally, " from the root "

If one disregards the advice of the good and clings to the advice of the wicked, his life cannot be saved, he is like a sick man who eats everything. 73

Whosoever does not stay in the control of his friends, which is the highest wisdom, soon falls from his station and finds himself in the control of his enemies 74

Where one will give, and another will take, advice that is successful in its issue, tho it be unpleasant to hear—there Fortune loves to dwell 75

One should not honor newcomers to the prejudice of servants of long standing There is no more serious malady, destructive of kingship, than this " 76

(274) The lion said

"When one has formerly declared in public that a certain person has excellent qualities, a man who keeps his word cannot declare that that person lacks such qualities 77

(275) (Moreover,) I gave him safe-conduct and brought him to myself when he was a suppliant, and nourisht him So how can he (be so ungrateful as to) plot against me?" Damanaka said

'An evil man returns to his evil nature, tho he be tended zealously, he is like a dog's tail that one strives to bend by means of softening and oiling 78 (And again)

A man must say these things uninvited, to one whose injury he would avoid This principle alone is characteristic of the good; others are held to be the reverse [of good] 79

(276) (And again he who said the following)

('A man should try to restrain a kinsman or a friend, a king or a revered person, who strays from the right path; but if [the erring one] cannot be restrained, he may thereafter do what he pleases ' 80)

(277) (He was surely a traitor On the contrary:)

Well-wishers should restrain their friends who desire to do wrong and keep them from suffering anguish. For this is declared by the righteous to be the whole behavior of the good, any other is the behavior of the wicked 81

He is truly devoted who holds one back from evil, that is a true deed which is without sin. She is a true wife who is obedient, he is truly wise who is approved by the righteous. That

is true fortune which does not intoxicate, he is truly happy who is not carried away by desire He is a true friend who is a friend without reserve, he is a true man who is not tormented by the senses 82

It were better to pass by a good friend who is asleep with his head on a bed of fire, or who has made a serpent his couch, than one who is addicted to vice 83

(278) Therefore this vice of (association with) Samjīvaka will bring Your Majesty to loss of the three objects of human desire [25] (279) Now if in spite of manifold warnings Your Majesty (disregards my words and) does as he sees fit, then (if a disaster occurs) hereafter your servant is not to be blamed And it is said

A king who follows his own desires takes no account of duty or advantage, he strays after his own lusts uncontrolled, like a rut-maddened elephant So when. puft up with pride, he falls into a pit of grief, then he throws the blame on his servant, and fails to recognize his own misconduct ' 84

(280) The lion said "(Friend,) if this is the case should he not be admonisht?" (281) Damanaka said "How can you think of admonishing him? What sort of policy would that be?

An enemy that has been admonisht hastens to plot against you, or to attack you by force Therefore it is wise to admonish an enemy by deeds and not by words" 85

(282) The lion said "But he is after all a grass-eater, and I am a flesh-eater, so how could he injure me?" (283) Damanaka said ."That is true, he is a grass-eater and Your Majesty is a flesh-eater, he is your natural food and you are one that naturally feeds on him (284) Nevertheless, even if he does you no injury himself, he will still cause injury to you thru another" (285) (The lion said· "What power has he to injure me either by himself or thru another?" Said he) (286) "You know that your body is always disfigured with wounds caused by the blows of the (claws and) teeth of many furious elephants, (wild oxen, buffaloes, boars, tigers, and leopards,) in your battles with them (But) he (constantly) remains near you and scatters his dung and urine all about And in consequence of this worms will be produced Because your body is near at hand, these

[25] Religion or morality, worldly advantage, and love

worms will make their way into it, following the holes made by the wounds And in that way too you will surely be destroyed And it is said

Not to one whose character is unknown should refuge ever be granted For Slow-crawl was killed thru the fault of Stinger "[26] 86

(287) Piñgalaka said "How was that?" Said he

STORY 7 LOUSE AND FLEA

(288) A certain king had (in his palace) an incomparable couch, perfect in all respects (289) A louse named Slow-crawl lived in it (in a part of the coverlet) (290) And she remained there a long time, eating the king's blood and passing the time pleasantly (291) Now (once upon a time) a flea named Stinger, driven by a breeze, alighted there (on the bed). (292) (And he found that the bed had a very fine upper coverlet and double pillows, that it was broad as a Ganges sandbank and very soft and of fragrant perfume, and he was greatly pleased with it) (293) (And as he strayed here and there, enchanted with the touch of it,) it happened that he was observed by Slow-crawl And she said to him: (294) "Wherefore have you come to this place that is not a proper dwelling for you? Depart from here!" Said he (295) "Madam, I have heretofore tasted many kinds of blood (from [people of all the castes,] brahmans, ksatriyas, vaiśyas, and śūdras But all this was puckery, slimy, unsatisfactory, and unpleasant) (296) But he who sleeps in this bed must (surely) have blood as delightful as nectar (He must be free from disease, because the wind, gall, and phlegm[27] [in his body] are controlled by the constant and zealous application of herbs and other remedies by physicians His blood is enricht with food containing thick and delicate juices,

[26] So I render the onomatopoetic name Tiṇṭibha, but it may be meant to suggest the sound made by the insect, rather than its actions (Buzzer, not Stinger) In that case the insect could not have been a flea, as it is customary to render it in this story, since fleas operate noiselessly, it may have been something more like our mosquito The Sanskrit word, *matkuna*, is applied to various stinging insects

[27] According to Hindu medicine these are the three fundamental "humors" of the human body Variation from the proper proportion of them in the body causes disease

food that is spicy with candied sugar and treacle pomegranates and the three spices [black and long pepper and dried ginger], and that includes the very finest meat from beasts of the land water, and air I imagine his blood must be like an elixir of life) (297) And by your favor I should like to taste this (fragrant and nourishing [blood])" (298) Then that [louse] (Slow-crawl) said "That is out of the question for such as you, your mouth is like fire and you bite savagely So go away (from this bed)" (299) Then he fell at her feet and again made the same entreaty (300) And she took pity on him and agreed, saying "So be it But you must be careful not to attack him at the wrong time (or in too sensitive a place)" (301) (Said he "What is the proper time for it? I have never had experience and do not know" She said) (302) "When he has fallen asleep from weariness after a drunken carouse, or is soundly sleeping after the enjoyments of love, then you must go to work, slowly and gently (When he is sunk in sleep that follows a drunken stupor, he is not easily aroused)" (303) And he agreed to do just so But in spite of this arrangement that [flea], (disregarding the proprieties of time and) suffering from hunger, bit the king (in the back) in the (early part of the) evening, when he was barely asleep (304) But he (, the king, as if burnt with a firebrand,) sprang up excitedly and said "See here! Something has bitten me, make search for it!" (305) Then the flea (frightened, upon hearing the king's words left the bed and) got into a crack elsewhere (306) But the guards of the bedchamber (at their lord's command) brought a light and (turned back the bed-clothes and) searcht (diligently) (307) And they found Slow-crawl (hiding inside) and killed her

(End of Story 7)

(308) Therefore I say: "Not to one whose character is unknown" &c (309) (And when the story was ended) Piṅgalaka said "(Friend,) how can I be sure that he is a traitor (, and what is his manner of fighting)?" (310) Damanaka said "(At other times he comes into Your Majesty's presence in a free and easy attitude Today) if he approaches with his pointed horns prepared to strike, (ready for battle,) looking this way and that in alarm, then Your Majesty must understand that he

is disposed to injure you" (311) Having spoken thus (and having turned the lion's heart against him), Damanaka went to see Saṁjīvaka (312) To him also he walkt up hesitatingly and presented himself as one disquieted (313) (Then) Samjīvaka said to him (courteously) "(Friend,) is all well (with you)?' (314) Damanaka said "How (, pray,) can it be well with dependants? (For)

Their fortunes are at the mercy of another, their minds are ever discontented, they cannot be sure even of their own lives —who are dependent on kings 87 And this is well said

Teachers and kings are like-natured For there is no intimacy nor friendship with them, the zealous obedience that has been rendered them for no matter how long,—in their anger they make nothing of it, it is like dust washt away by clouds of rain 88 (And again)

What man upon earth obtains riches and is not puft up? Whose misfortunes ever end? Who in this world has not had his heart broken by women? Who, pray, is a friend to kings? Who does not fall a prey to Death? What beggar has come to exalted station? Or what man has ever come off scot-free after falling into the snares of the wicked? 89 Therefore, assuredly

A man must ponder every moment on these questions 'What is the time?[28] What friends [have I]? What is the place?[28] What are my income and expenses? Who am I, and what is my power?'" 90

(315) (Upon hearing the words of Damanaka, who concealed his true purpose in his heart,) Samjīvaka said "(Friend,) what is the matter (now)?" (316) Said he "Even tho a king's confidence ought not to be revealed, still (I cannot forget that) you came and remained here thru trust in me So I must without fail speak as your interests demand (317) This our lord Piñgalaka is intending to harm you. He has said (318) 'I will kill Samjīvaka and gratify my attendants (with his flesh)'" (319) Hearing this Saṁjīvaka was plunged in deep despair. (320) Damanaka said "You must consider without delay what is to be done in this case" (321) And because in

[28] That is, for what action is the present moment timely, and the present place suitable?

former time he had found Damanaka's word trustworthy, Samjīvaka's heart was overwhelmed, and he was greatly afraid, and said. "Truly this is well said

Women are accessible to base men, a king as a rule cultivates unworthy folk, money runs after misers, and the god [of rain] rains on mountains and on the sea" 91

(322) And he reflected as follows "Alas! What is this that has fallen upon me? (Moreover)

Zealously one studies to please a king, and he is pleased, what is strange in that? But this is an unheard-of manner of idol, which when one serves it turns to enmity! 92

(323) So (assuredly) there is nothing that can be done in this matter

For he whose anger is due to a cause will surely be appeased when the cause is removed But if his mind harbors groundless hate, how shall another appease him? 93 And this is well said:

When a foolish swan, hunting for the white-lotus shoots by night, has bitten again and again at the reflection of a star in the pond, and been deceived, afterwards he suspects that the white-lotus is a star and does not bite it even by day Made wary by impostors, men look for something wrong even in the righteous 94 And yet:

Assuredly offenses cannot fail to occur even without a logical cause, and fits of anger are certain to arise without reason But a man of exceptional intelligence, whose heart and whose whole disposition have long been tested, should not be abandoned without carefully looking into the facts of the case 95. (And again)

A king whose physicians, seers,[29] and ministers speak only pleasant things, soon loses his health, virtue, and wealth" 96

(324) And he said: "What offense have I committed against our lord (Piñgalaka)?" (325) Damanaka said: "(Friend,) kings, you know, need no cause for being hostile (and they are always looking for imperfections in others)" (326) Said the other. "That is true (And this is well said:)

Even for men who are devoted and helpful, who apply themselves to friendly and useful activities, who know all about the business of service and are free from treachery, even for

[29] Perhaps "priests"?

them disaster is certain if they once make a false step, while success may or may not come to them Hence the service of a lord of the earth is always dangerous, even as the service of the lord of the waters [the ocean] 97

(327) (And this is their very nature.)

Many a kindness rendered by men of affectionate hearts still leads to hatred, while injury treacherously inflicted by others still leads to naught but favor Kings' minds are hard to grasp, and their humors are unstable, so that the conditions of ministry are a profound mystery, which even magicians cannot fathom. 98

Virtues are virtues only to those who can appreciate them, when they touch one who lacks virtue they become faults For rivers that flow with sweetest water become undrinkable when they reach the ocean 99

Even small virtues become great with men who are exalted in virtue, like the rays of the moon when they touch the peak of the White Mountain. 100

Even hundreds of human virtues are lost among men that are lacking in virtue, like moonbeams falling by night upon the peaks of the Black Mountain 101.

A hundred favors are lost upon the base, a hundred wise sayings are lost upon the foolish, a hundred sage counsels are lost upon one who cannot take advice; a hundred bits of wisdom are lost upon the unintelligent 102

A gift to an unworthy person is lost, benevolence is lost upon one who has not a benevolent heart and understanding; a favor is lost upon the ungrateful; kindness is lost upon one that does not appreciate virtue 103

To serve an unintelligent man is like crying in the wilderness, rubbing the body of a dead man, planting water-lilies on dry land, whispering in the ear of the deaf, bending a dog's tail, a drenching rain on salt earth, or adorning the face of the blind 104

Snakes live in sandalwood-trees, in the waters are water-lilies, but also crocodiles, scoundrels, we all know, are death to good characters Where, pray, can be found happiness in enjoyments without something to spoil it? 105

Ketakī-flowers are beset with thorns, water-lilies grow out of the mud, wantons are attended by bawds, where is there a jewel without a flaw?" 106.

(328) Damanaka said "You see, this our lord (Piñgalaka) was sweet in his words (in the beginning), but (in the end) his heart is like poison (, I perceive)" (329) Samjivaka (meditated and) said ' (Friend, this is quite true) I also have experienst this from him Since

He holds out his hand to you from afar, his eyes glisten, he offers half of his seat, he is quick with warm embraces, to friendly words and questions he has a ready answer, hiding poison within, he is all sweetness without, and exceedingly skilled in deceit, what a monstrous manner of stage-play is this that is practist by scoundrels! 107

(In the beginning, to be sure, it has the bright ornaments of civility, kind words, and courtesy, in the middle too it is highly regarded for its flowers of beautiful words—which however bear no fruit, but at the end it is repulsive from the stains of malice, discourtesy, and disgrace Far be from you association with ignoble men, it serves no good purpose 108)

(330) Alas! What common ground could there be for association between me, a grass eater, and a lion (that eats flesh)? (And this is well said:)

When the sun with rays of fiery splendor rests on the sunset mountain, the bee enters the lotus eager to drink from its filaments, and recks not of its imprisonment within it, which the twilight brings on A greedy man thinks of no danger in his single thirst for enjoyment 109

The faithless bees give up drinking the honey of the waterrose, desert the newly-opened blue-lotus blossom, and reject the heavily fragrant jasmine with its native charm, only to come to grief in [seeking] the liquid on the temples of [rutting] elephants[30] So men turn their backs on what is theirs for the asking, and madly seek the lucky throws of the dice 110

The bees pursue the quick-flowing liquid on the borders of the cheeks of rutting elephants, eager to taste the fresh sweet juice, but when they fall to the ground with limbs crusht by the tossing gusts of wind from the fan-like ears of the elephants, then they remember how they played in the cups of the lotuses 111

[30] See page 286, note 15 A word-play is involved in this stanza, the same word in Sanskrit means "elephant's temple" and "lucky throw at dice"

(331) But the truth is that this is (just) the weakness of those who have fine qualities (For)

The multitude of its own fruits breaks the branches of a tree, the mass of its tail-feathers makes the peacock's movements slow, the blooded horse that is quick of movement is made to draw burdens like an ox, in a man of fine qualities those very qualities, look you, oftentimes prove his enemies 112

(Most often kings turn their faces wholly away from a man of good qualities, out of sheer greed women commonly grant their favors to wicked and foolish men False is the praise which says that men's eminence comes from their noble qualities, for the people of this world as a rule reck not of a man's true nature 113)

With lions, imprisoned in cages, their wretched faces pining away from the humiliation, with elephants, the sides of their heads torn by goadhooks with serpents, charmed to stillness, with wise men, fallen into helpless misery, and with men of prowess ruined by ill-luck,—Fate plays as with toys, tossing them to and fro at her sweet will 114

(332) Now since I have entered a group of mean creatures, my (very) life is assuredly lost And it is said

Many mean creatures, if they are clever and if they all live by their wits, may work either harm or freedom from harm, like the crow and his friends in the case of the camel " 115

(333) Damanaka said "(And) how was that?" Said the other

STORY 8. LION'S RETAINERS AND CAMEL

(334) In a certain forest-region dwelt a lion named Haughty (335) He had three retainers, a leopard, a crow, and a jackal (336) Now as they were wandering (thru this forest) they came upon a camel who had been abandoned by the master of a caravan (337) And the lion, seeing this absurd-looking creature, (the like of which he had never seen before,) inquired of them (338) "Ask this creature who he is, and whence he comes (, for he is unlike anything ever seen in this forest)" (339) Then the crow, after he had found out the facts, reported "This is a camel named Fabulous" (340) Then they gave him assurances and brought him to the lion (341) He for his part told all that had happened to himself and how he had been separated from

the master of the caravan (342) And the lion granted him protection and safe conduct (343) Now in the course of time it chanced that the lion's body was wounded by the tusks of a (wild) elephant in battle, and he had to keep to his cave (344) And when a space of five or six (or seven) days had past by, the retainers all became dangerously ill from lack of food (345) Since they were in distress, the lion said to them "(Because of this illness due to my wounds) I am unable to get food for you (as before) (346) So why do not you make some effort on your own account?" (347) Then they said "When Your Majesty is in such a state, what use have we for nourishment for ourselves?" (348) The lion said "Sirs, your behavior is that of good retainers, and your devotion (to me) is excellent (You have spoken most creditably) (349) ([But] you are not disabled, and I am sick) So (since I am in this condition) do you bring me something to eat" (350) (And when they said nothing, he said to them "Why are you so abasht?") (351) "Seek for some creature or other, and I (even in my present state) will provide you and myself with sustenance to keep us alive" (352) Thus addrest they (then arose and) went into the midst of the forest, and began to roam about; but when they found no animal, (353) then they excluded Fabulous from their midst and began to plot a (wicked) scheme (354) (Now) the crow said: ("We are ruined by this our lord, altho the means [of salvation] is at his disposal") (355) (The other two said "How so?" Said he) "We will (simply) kill (this) Fabulous, and so save our lives (Why not?)" (356) (They said "He has come to us as a trusting refugee, and we have admitted him to our comradeship" Said he) (357) "Associations between grass-eaters and flesh-eaters are incongruous" (358) (Then) they said "Our lord (too) has given safe-conduct to him Therefore this is (both improper and) impossible" (359) (But again) the crow said: "You stay here, until I (by myself) bring this thing to pass" (360) So saying he went to visit the lion (361) (And) the lion said "Have you found any (creature)?" (362) The crow said: "He may find who has sight and strength; but we are all of us blind and helpless from lack of food (363) However, I cannot refrain from making a timely suggestion to my lord You are destroying yourself by your

own fault, in spite of the fact that food is at your disposal" (364) The lion said "How so?" (365) The crow said. "(Why,) this Fabulous here" (366) The lion said (angrily) "Fie! That would be a piece of savagery I have given him (protection and) assurance of safety, so how can I kill him? Moreover.

Not a gift of a cow, nor a gift of land, nor yet a gift of food, is so important as the gift of safety, which is declared to be the great gift among all gifts in this world' 116

(367) The crow said "(O how great is my lord's understanding in regard to right conduct! But here is another thing which is important, namely the saying of a great sage, that for the sake of good, evil may be undertaken) It is likewise said

For the sake of a family an individual may be sacrificed, for the sake of a village a family may be sacrificed, for the sake of a nation a village may be sacrificed, for the sake of one's self the world may be sacrificed" 117

(368) (And he said further) 'Let not my lord kill him himself I have conceived how he may be killed by a trick" (369) (Said he "Just how?" The crow said·) (370) "(Why, when he sees my lord and us in this condition) he will himself offer himself (for the nourishment of others, so that he may gain heaven and [other] creatures may be benefited There would be no sin in this)" (371) When the crow had spoken thus, the lion (seemed to be confused in his mind and) spoke not a word (372) But that [crow] went (back) to where the others were, and spoke to them (singly), with tricky words· (373) "See, our lord is in a serious condition His life hangs by a thread[31] (Now without him who will protect us in this wood?) So since the pain of hunger[32] has brought him near to the other world, let us (go of our own accord and) offer him our bodies, that we may discharge the debt we owe to our lord's grace" (374) So having agreed to do this they went to visit the lion, Fabulous among them (375) Then the crow said "Sire, we have found no food, (and) my lord is worn out with long fasting. So by all means eat my flesh" (376) (Thereupon)

[31] Literally, "his life has got into the end of his nose"

[32] Possibly "hunger and disease" instead of "the pain of hunger"

the lion said ' Your body, Sir, is (very) small Even if I ate your body I should not get any satisfaction from it" (377) (And when he had withdrawn) the jackal (likewise) spoke as follows "My body amounts to more than his so save your life with mine" (378) To him also the lion made the same reply (379) (And when he had withdrawn) the leopard said "My body amounts to more than theirs, eat it ' (380) To him likewise he replied "Your body also is [too] small ' (381) Hearing this Fabulous thot "No one at all is going to lose his life here (So) I too will say the same" (382) Then he (arose and approacht the lion and) said. "Sire, (my body amounts to more than theirs, so) save your life with my body" (383) Before the words were out of his mouth the leopard and the jackal had torn open both his flanks, and he perisht on the spot and was devoured

(End of Story 8)

(384) Therefore I say· "Many mean creatures, if they are clever" &c (385) (And when the story was finisht) Samjīvaka said again to Damanaka "(Friend,) this king is attended by mean creatures, which augurs ill for those who depend on him And it is said

Better a vulture attended by swans that live contentedly in the water, than a swan attended by savage carrion-birds that eat flesh A mean retinue destroys even a man of fine qualities, while even one lacking in virtue becomes virtuous if his followers are above meanness 118

(386) Now this king has been turned against me by some one or other And this is well said

Whole surfaces are carried away even from a mountain when undermined by a gentle flow of water, how much more the soft hearts of men by clever persons who attack them with slander! 119

(387) Now in this case what would be a timely thing to do? Why, what else than to fight? (It would be unfitting to wait on his commands) And it is said

When even a parent [or, an elder] is arrogant and knows not what he should do and what he should not do, and strays into evil paths, it is proper to punish him 120.

The worlds that seekers of heaven attain by countless sacrifices, by mortification of the self and by quantities of alms, even those same worlds are attained in an instant by men of valor who lose their lives in a good fight 121

Life and fame and wealth—all these must, I say, be defended by fighting Death in battle is the most glorious for men Who lives under the sway of his foe—it is he that is dead 122

Either he will die and gain heaven, or else he will destroy his foes and gain [earthly] joy Assuredly both these blessings of men of valor are hard to attain" 123

(388) Damanaka said "Friend, that is not the right procedure For

He who knows not his enemy's prowess, yet starts a quarrel, surely comes to grief, as the sea did thru the strandbird" 124.

(389) Samjīvaka said "(And) how was that?" Damanaka said

STORY 9 STRANDBIRDS AND SEA

(390) (Once upon a time, in a certain place) on the sea-shore dwelt a pair of strandbirds (391) (Now once) when the female bird was about to lay her eggs, she said to her mate (392) "(Sir,) find some place that is suitable for me to lay my eggs." (393) Said he· "Why surely this very place is excellent, lay your eggs right here" (394) She replied: "Don't speak of this place, it is dangerous, for (perchance) the flood-tide of the sea may wash up with its waves and carry off my young" (395) He said: "My dear, the sea cannot undertake (such) a conflict with me" (396) She replied laughing "There is a great difference between your power and the sea's! How can you fail to realize your own strength and weakness? And it is said

It is hard to know oneself, and to appraise one s capacity or incapacity for a given task He who has this kind of discernment does not come to grief even in a hard place 125 (And again:)

If one heeds not the advice of friends and well-wishers, he perishes like the foolish tortoise who fell from the stick." 126

(397) The male bird said: "(And) how was that?" She replied

STORY 10 GEESE AND TORTOISE

(398) Once upon a time a tortoise named Shellneck lived in a certain lake (399) He had two friends, geese, named Slim and Ugly (400) Now in the course of time a (twelve years') drought came upon them Then the two [geese] decided (401) "This lake has lost its water We will go to another lake (402) But first we will take leave of our dear friend Shellneck (here, whom we have known so long) ' (403) They did so, but the tortoise said to them (404) "(Why do you take leave of me? Nay,) if you love me, then you should save me also from the jaws of death (For) it is clear that you will suffer no more than a (mere) scarcity of food in this lake in which the water is low, but for me it means nothing less than death. So bethink you, which is more serious, loss of food or loss of life?" (405) The two [geese] replied "(Rightly spoken, quite true However—you know what the occasion demands!) We will (without fail) take you along, (406) but you must not (be so thotless as to) say anything on the way" (The tortoise said "Very well, I will not," and the two geese brought a stick and said) (407) "(Now) grasp this stick firmly in the middle with your teeth (408) As for us, we will take hold of it by both ends and carry you far away (thru the air) to a large lake." (409) Thus it was done. And when the tortoise was seen as he was being carried over a city that was near that lake, (410) the people raised an uproar, saying "What is that (thing like a wagon-wheel) that is being carried (thru the air by two birds)?" (411) (And) hearing this the tortoise (, whose end was at hand, let go of the stick and) said (412) "What is all this fuss about?" (413) Even as he spoke, (at that moment) he dropt from the stick and fell to the ground (414) And the people, eager for his meat, cut him to pieces (with sharp knives as soon as he struck the ground)

(End of Story 10)

(415) Therefore I say "[If one heeds not the advice] of friends and well-wishers" &c (416) And again she said:

"Forethot and Ready-wit both prosper in peace, Come-what-will perishes" 127.

(417) The male bird said: "(And) how was that?" She said.

STORY 11 FORETHOT, READY-WIT, AND COME-WHAT-WILL

(418) Once upon a time three large fish dwelt in a certain (big) pond. (419) (Their names were) Forethot, Ready-wit, and Come-what-will (420) Now once Forethot (as he was swimming around in the water) heard the words of some fishermen who were passing (near by) (421) "This pond has plenty of fish, (so) tomorrow we will catch the fish in it" (422) And hearing this Forethot reflected "They are sure to come back, so I will (take Ready-wit and Come-what-will along and) take refuge in another pond (whose stream is not blockt)" Thereupon he called his friends and askt them to go [with him] (423) Then Ready-wit said "If the fishermen come here then I will save myself by some means or other suited to the circumstances" (424) But Come-what-will (, whose end was at hand,) paid no heed to his words, and took no steps (to go) (425) So (seeing that both of them were determined to stay there,) Forethot (entered the stream of the river [the outlet of the lake] and) went to another lake (426) And on the next day (after he left) the fishermen (with their followers blockt the river from within and) threw in a (scoop-)net and caught all the fish to the last one (427) (When this had happened) Ready-wit assumed the aspect of a dead fish, and made himself appear so (as he lay in the net) (428) And they thot "This (big fish) is already dead," and they (took him out of the net and) laid him down near the water (429) (But) thereupon he jumpt up and fled (in great haste) to another lake (430) But Come-what-will (had no idea what to do, and he) moved aimlessly about this way and that till he was caught in the net and killed with clubs

(End of Story 11)

(431) Therefore I say. "Forethot" &c (432) The male strandbird said "(My dear, do you think that I am like Come-what-will? Now) be not afraid, while my right arm protects you who can do you harm?" (433) Then the female bird laid her eggs in that same place (434) (But) the sea, which had overheard his previous boasting, was curious about the matter, and carried off the eggs, thinking· "I will (just) see what he will do." (435) (Then when she saw that the nest was empty)

the female bird was filled with grief, and said to her mate (436) "Now see, this (disaster) has happened (to unhappy me,) just as I told you before, (because we chose an unfavorable place,) we have lost our young" (437) The male bird said "My dear, see now what *I* can do too!" (438) Then he called an assembly of the birds and told them of his distress caused by the carrying off of his young (439) Then one (bird) said "We cannot fight with the ocean (440) But (this is what it would be well to do now) let us all of us complain to Garuḍa[33] and so arouse him (*He* will remove the cause of our grief)" (441) So deciding they went to see Garuda (442) But he had been summoned by (the Lord) Nārāyaṇa [Visnu] for a battle between the gods and the demons (443) And (just at that moment) the birds reported to the lordly king of the birds the grief which the ocean had caused them by taking their young away from them (444) (And they said) 'Sire, while you are (shining as) our lord, we (, who depend only on our beaks for support and have little to eat,) have been injured by the ocean, he has stolen our young" (445) (And) Garuḍa was enraged when he heard of the injury to his subjects (446) (But the god) Nārāyaṇa [Visnu] knew what was in his mind (because of his power of knowing past, present, and future), and went to see him of his own accord (447) Now when Garuḍa saw the god, with deeply troubled heart he said 'Is it fitting that I should suffer this humiliation from the accursed ocean, when you are my lord?" (448) (And having been informed of the facts) the god smiled and said to the ocean (449) "(Now) give (the strandbird) back his eggs (450) Else I shall scorch you with weapons of flame (and dry up your waves with countless thousands of submarine fires[34]) and reduce you to dry land" (451) Thereupon (at the god's command) the ocean in alarm gave back the eggs to the strandbird

(End of Story 9)

(452) Therefore I say· "He who knows not his enemy's prowess" &c (453) And Saṃjīvaka, having understood the

[33] A mythical bird, upon which the god Viṣṇu rides, regarded as king of the birds Originally the sun conceived as a bird

[34] The Hindus believed in the existence of an infernal fire under the ocean

meaning of this, askt him· "Friend, (tell me,) what is his method of fighting?" (454) Said he "(At other times he is wont to remain sitting on a flat rock with limbs carelessly relaxt as he looks towards you Today) if first of all he stands gazing in your direction (while you are yet afar off), with uplifted tail, his four feet drawn together, with open mouth and ears erect, (455) then you may know that he has a hostile purpose towards you, and (you also) may act accordingly" (456) Having spoken thus Damanaka went to see Karataka (457) And the latter said to him 'What have you accomplisht?" (458) Said he "I have sown enmity between them (as I intended You will see by the outcome And) what is surprising in this? It is said

Dissension, well directed, may divide even the true-hearted, as a mighty stream of waters [divides] mountains of solid rock" 128

(459) Having spoken thus Damanaka (along with Karataka) went to where Pingalaka was (460) Samjīvaka too, (perturbed at heart,) walking very slowly, [came and] saw that the lion's appearance was just as it had been described [by Damanaka], and (as he slunk into his presence) he reflected· "This is truly said

Like a house within which a serpent is hidden, or a wood full of beasts of prey, like a shady pool full of charming water-lilies but infested with crocodiles, so the minds of kings are ever defiled by mean, lying, and ignoble men; it is hard in this world for timorous servants to penetrate them" 129

(461) (So he took measures for his own protection, in the manner described [by Damanaka]) And Pingalaka too, when he saw him presenting this appearance, believed the words of Damanaka, and sprang upon him (in fury) (462) (Then) Samjīvaka's back was rent by the tips of his hatchet-like[35] claws, but striking with the ends of his horns he tore open the lion's belly and made shift to get loose from him (463) (And once more) there ensued a terrific fight between the two enraged creatures (464) And when Karataka saw that both of them were turned the [red] color of *palāśa*-trees in bloom, he said (reproachfully) to Damanaka· (465) "Shame on you, villain! You have caused all this trouble by your folly

[35] Or, "thunderbolt-like"

True ministers are they whose political skill enables them to settle by mere peaceful negotiation matters which [others] would accomplish by strenuous measures and which would lead to extreme force and violence But as for those who seek small and unsubstantial advantages by the ill-advised use of force, they by their imprudent conduct set the king's fortune in hazard 130. (Therefore, O fool!)

Surely conciliation is the means which should always be tried first by him who knows his business For policies that are carried out by conciliation do not end in disaster 131.

Not by a radiant jewel, not by the sun nor by fire, but by conciliation alone is dispelled the darkness born of enmity 132

Fourfold political methods[36] are known, beginning with conciliation and ending with violence But of these violence is the worst, therefore it should be avoided 133 (And again:)

Conciliation, bribery, and sowing of dissension, these three are an ever-open door of wisdom But the fourth [and last] method is declared by the noble to be heroic action[37] 134

The might of the mighty—of elephants, vipers, lions, fire, water wind, and the sun—is seen to be fruitless against the onslaught of the political methods 135.

Many heroes have gone forth, tall and broad-shouldered, not foolish either, but possest of insight, why have they followed the leader?[38] 136

(466) (And furthermore) you have gone too far in arrogant reliance on the fact that you are a hereditary minister, and this also will be fatal to you

If one gets learning, but does not then devote his whole soul to controlling the senses, if it does not make the intellect

[36] A technical term of political science The other two "methods" are bribery and sowing of dissension (between one's enemies) *Cf* following verses

[37] Meaning, apparently, that this should be used only as a last resort

[38] So following Hertel's interpretation, which the Syriac version seems to support But I feel very uncertain of the rendering of *anugatā gatam*, it would seem more naturally to mean "why have they followed him who has past away [died]?" (answer "because they relied on violence rather than on the better methods of conciliation &c") If Hertel's rendering is right, the implied answer is "because the leader (*gata*) knew the right political methods and so could control them [the heroes]"

useful, if it does not abide in righteousness, if mere embellishments of oratory before men are the only results of its acquisition, if it makes neither for peace nor for glory, what profit is there in such learning? 137

(467) (Now in [political] science counsel is said to have five elements, namely the plan of the thing to be undertaken, provisions of men and money, discrimination in the choice of time and place, prevention of impending disasters, and successful completion of the project[39]) (468) (At present) this our lord is in grave danger, therefore we must devise a means of prevention (of disaster) And again

Skill is shown in action, that of ministers in patching up splits, and that of physicians in a complicated disease When all is well who cannot be wise? 138

(469) Now, fool, your mind is perverse, and because you fancy yourself clever you are devising your own ruin And this is well said

Learning, the destroyer of arrogance, begets arrogance in fools, even as light, that illumines the eye, makes owls blind" 139

(470) (And) when Karataka saw his lord in that lamentable plight, he (was overwhelmed with grief and) said "This disaster has overtaken my lord thru unwise counsel (And after all) this is well said.

Kings who follow the advice of the base, and do not walk in the path taught by the wise, enter a tangle of misfortunes containing all manner of afflictions, and the way out is hard 140

(471) (Now, fool, it is clear that) everyone strives to have his lord attended by men of excellence (But you have created dissension by your slanderous words and separated your lord from his friend) With such as you how can our lord have the advantage of being attended by men of excellence? And it is said

No one approaches a King, even if his qualities be noble, if he have an evil minister He is like a pool of clear and sweet water in which vicious crocodiles dwell 141

[39] Quotation from the Kāutilīya Arthaśāstra, the Textbook of Political Science attributed to Cānakya (*cf* p 271 note 1 *et passim*)

(472) But you being (mainly) bent on your own aggrandizement, desire (rather to render) the king isolated (Fool, do you not know this?—)

A king with many followers is glorious, never one who is isolated Those who wish him isolated are declared to be his foes 142

(473) (And you do not understand this Therefore the Creator has produced [in you] a clear case in which the form belies [the nature] For)

One should seek for the salutary in the unpleasant; if it is there, it is after all nectar One should seek for the deceitful in the pleasant, if it is there, it is after all poison 143

(474) (Moreover,) you are tormented with jealousy at seeing others enjoy pleasures, and this also is wicked, to act thus towards (devoted) friends For

Fools assuredly are they who seek to win a friend by treachery, righteousness by deceit, abundance of wealth by oppression of others, learning by ease, or a woman by harshness 144 (Also·)

Whatever good befalls a minister, the same is profitable for the king as well. What would the ocean be without its waves, that rise on high and gleam like gems? 145

(475) And one who has won the favor of his lord ought to be the more particularly well-behaved And it is said

Just so far as a lord treats his servant with favor [or, punningly, 'radiance'], even so far is the path of the cowering [servant] illumined, however lowly it be 146

(476) (Therefore your character is insignificant And it is said)

A great man does not lose his self-possession when he is afflicted; the ocean is not made muddy by the falling in of its banks A worthless man is perturbed by even a very trifling cause, the *darbha*-grasses sway even in a languid breeze 147

(477) And yet, after all, this is our lord's own fault, because he takes counsel with such as you (, who make your living out of a mere pretense of counsel and are quite ignorant of the use of the six forms of policy[40] He shows no regard for the attainment of the three [objects of human desire][41] And this is well said)

[40] These are listed in § 188, p. 293.

[41] See page 272, note 4

(Kings who delight in servants that speak brilliant and pleasing words but do not bend their bows—their dominions are enjoyed by their enemies. 148.)

(478) (Now assuredly) by (these) your actions you have made it clear (that your statesmanship was inherited, and) that without doubt your father was (just) like you. (But how can this be known?) Because

The son must needs follow in his father's path. For myro-balan-fruits do not grow on a *ketaka*-tree! 149.

(479) (And if a man is wise and his character is profound, no enemy finds a breach in his defenses by which he might break in upon him, no, not in a long time, unless he himself carelessly reveals an opening. And this is well said.)

Who could discover, even by trying hard, the peacocks' place of excretion, were they themselves not so foolish as to dance in joy at the rumble of the thunder-cloud?[42] 150.

(480) (Now in any case) what use is there in giving instruction to (a wretch like) you? (And it is said.)

You cannot bend wood that is unbendable, you cannot use a knife on a stone. Know from Needle-beak that you cannot teach one who cannot learn." 151.

(481) Damanaka said. "(And) how was that?" Karaṭaka said.

STORY 12 APE, GLOW-WORM, AND BIRD

(482) In a certain forest-region there was a herd of apes. (483) And (once upon a time) in the winter(-season), when they were suffering from cold and in great distress, they saw a glow-worm and took it for fire. (484) They covered it over with dry sticks, grass, and leaves which they gathered, and stretcht out their arms, (and rubbed their arm-pits, bellies, and chests,) and actually felt the comfort of (imaginary) warmth. (485) (Then) one ape (among them, who was especially chilly,) kept blowing upon it all the time with his lips (, giving his whole attention to it). (486) Now a bird named Needle-beak (saw this, and) flew down from a tree and said: (487) "(Friend,) do not trouble yourself, this is no fire, it is a glow worm." (488) But the other gave no heed to his words and went on

[42] This alleged habit of peacocks is frequently mentioned in Indian poetry.

blowing (489) And tho he tried over and over again to stop him, he would not stop (490) (To make a long story short,) the bird kept coming close to his ear and nagging at him insistently, (491) until (at last) the ape was enraged, and seizing him violently smote him against a stone and killed him

(End of Story 12)

(492) Therefore I say "You cannot bend wood that is unbendable" &c (493) "And after all

What can learning accomplish, bestowed on a worthless person? It is like a light in a house placed in a covered vessel 152

(494) (So you are assuredly misbegotten And it is said)

(Those whose ideas are based on sound knowledge must recognize in this world the begotten son, the after-begotten,[43] the super-begotten, and the misbegotten 153)

(Now the begotten [son] has qualities like the mother, the after-begotten[43] is like the father, the super-begotten is superior to the latter, the misbegotten is the lowest of the low 154.)

(495) (And this is well said)

He who bears the yoke of the family by his far-reaching intelligence, riches, and power—only he is a real son to his mother 155 (And again.)

Where can you not find excellence that flowers but for a passing moment? But a man adorned with lasting accomplishments is hard to find 156

(496) Now, fool, you make no reply! It is said:

His voice is broken, his face and color are altered, his look is frightened, his body is easily startled, for a man who has committed a crime is utterly terrified by his own act 157

(497) And this is well said:

Evil-wit and No-wit—the one is as bad as the other, I ween The son, because he was all too clever, caused his father's death by smoke" 158

(498) Damanaka said "(And) how was that?" Karaṭaka said:

[43] Or, "like-begotten."

STORY 13 EVIL-WIT AND HONEST-WIT

(499) (Once upon a time) in a certain city there were two merchants' sons who were (good) friends, and their names were Evil-wit and Honest-wit (500) They went to another (distant) country to seek their fortunes (501) (Now) on the way the one (merchant's son) who was named Honest-wit (, because of his merit [acquired by past deeds],) found a thousand (silver) dinars in a purse (where a usurer had once hidden it) (502) (But) he took counsel with Evil-wit (, and they came to this decision) "We have got all we want, (so) let us (take it and) go to our own city" So they went back (503) When they were nearly home, Honest-wit said "Let us divide the dinars half and half (and let us enter our homes and henceforth live in splendor in the sight of our friends and kinsmen and the other people)" (504) (Then) Evil-wit, whose heart harbored guile, said to him, in the hope of carrying out a plan of his own (505) "Friend, while we have money left in common, our friendly relations will remain unbroken (506) Rather let us take a hundred apiece and bury the rest (right here) in the ground, and go to our homes, and when occasion arises hereafter, we will come and take hence the little that we need" (507) The other replied: "As you say" So they did as suggested, and hid the rest of the money carefully in the ground at the foot of a tree, and went to their homes. (508) (Now in the course of that year Evil-wit used up his share, because he spent money on vicious indulgences and because his merit [acquired by past deeds] was scanty; and he and Honest-wit took more money from the store and divided it, a hundred apiece And by the end of the second year this also was used up in the same way) (509) Hereupon Evil-wit thot (510) "(If I divide with him again [and we take] a hundred apiece, the remaining four hundred will be too little to be worth stealing) I will (take the six [hundred] that are left and) make them all mine" (511) So deciding he went by himself and took away the store of money and smoothed over the ground where it had been (512) (And) not more than a month later he (went and) said to Honest-wit (without waiting for a suggestion from him). (513) "Friend, I have a bill to meet, (come,) let us divide equally the money that is left" (514) And when Honest-wit

agreed, they went together to that place and began to dig (515) And when the ground was dug open and the money was not to be found, (516) then Evil-wit (in his impudence did not wait for his friend to say anything, but) beat his own head with a stone and said in great excitement. (517) "O Honest-wit! *You* must have stolen this money (and no other Now give me half of it)!" (518) Said the other "I am not the man to commit such a theft You have stolen it" (519) So quarreling with each other they went to court (520) And when the case had been stated (and heard), the judges arrested both of them, because the matter was so obscure that it was hard to decide (521) And after a space of five days Evil-wit declared (to the judges) (522) "I have a witness (in this matter of the dinars, now question him)." (523) (But) they (, hoping to settle the case,) askt him "Who is your witness? (Produce him)" (524) He said "The (very same) tree at the roots of which the money was placed, even that is my witness" (525) (Then) the judges were astonisht and said "How shall a tree give evidence? Very well, tomorrow he shall prove his statement" (526) And they let (both of) them go to their homes, taking surety from them. (527) (Then) Evil-wit went home and besought his father [saying] (528) "Father, the dinars are in my hands (But) they depend solely on a word from you" (529) His father said "What am I to do about it?" (530) Said he. "You must enter into the trunk of that tree tonight and remain hidden there (531) And tomorrow when the judges put the question you must say 'Honest-wit took the money'" (532) (Thereupon) his father said "My son, we are ruined For (this will not do And it is well said).

A wise man should think of what is expedient, but he should also think of what is inexpedient While the foolish heron was looking on, his young were eaten by the mongooses." 159.

(533) The son said "(And) how was that?" His father replied

STORY 14· HERONS, SNAKE, AND MONGOOSE

(534) (Once upon a time) in a certain (*arjuna-*)tree dwelt a pair of herons. (535) Now as often as they had young, (before their wings were grown) they were always eaten by a (monstrous) snake which came up the hollow trunk of the tree (536) The

male heron lost his senses by reason of this grief, and abstaining from food went to the shore of a pond and sat there (in deep dejection) (537) (Then) a (certain) crab saw him there and said. "(Uncle,) why are you downcast (today)?" (538) He told (him) what had happened, how his young had been eaten (539) But the crab comforted him [saying] "(Sir,) I will tell you how you can kill him (540) You know this mongoose-hole here, start from it and scatter fish-meat in an unbroken line up to the snake's hole (541) Then the mongooses will be greedy for this food, and they will be sure to come and find him (there), and (because of their natural hostility[44]) will kill him." (542) This plan was adopted, and the mongooses followed the (path of the) fish-meat, and (, mindful of their ancient feud,) they killed the snake (543) [But] having once found the way they followed it and came to the nest of the herons in the tree, and ate the herons' young

(End of Story 14)

(544) Therefore I say· "A wise man should think of what is expedient" &c (545) Even after he had heard this story, Evil-wit (, blinded by avarice,) took his father by night (against his will) and put him in the hollow of the tree (546) (Then) in the morning, after texts from the lawbooks had been read before the tree in the presence of the court officials, a voice came forth from the tree saying· "Honest-wit took the money." (547) (And) hearing this Honest-wit thot: "How can this be? It is monstrous and impossible that such a thing should happen I will climb the tree itself and look into it" (548) So he lookt into it, and he collected a heap of dry wood and leaves and filled the hollow of the tree and set fire to it (549) And (when it blazed up) Evil-wit's father, (with his body) half burnt, (his eyes bursting out,) shrieking piteously and almost dead, came out (from the hollow of the tree) and fell on the ground (550) Then all gazed at him in astonishment, and they askt him. (551) ("Tell us, what does this mean?") (552) (To which) he replied "It is this wicked son of mine, (Evil-wit,) that has brought me to this plight" (553) As he spoke these words he

[44] Snakes and mongooses (ichneumons) are proverbial enemies, like cats and mice

died (554) Then the king's judges perceived the truth, and commanded that the money be given to Honest-wit, and impaled Evil-wit

(End of Story 13)

(555) Therefore I say "Evil-wit and No-wit" &c (556) And after telling this story Karataka said again (to Damanaka) "(Out upon you, fool!) You have shown yourself much too clever; you have burnt your own household And this is well said

Rivers come to an end in salt water, friendly hearts come to an end in women's quarrels, a secret comes to an end in a tattler, and families come to an end in evil sons 160

(557) (Moreover,) if a man has two tongues in a single mouth, who would trust him? (And it is said:)

Double-tongued and terrifying, utterly cruel and pitiless,—a scoundrel's mouth, like a serpent's, does nothing but harm 161

(558) (Now) this action of yours endangers me also How so?

Do not trust a malicious man because you have long been intimate with him A serpent will still bite, tho it may have been kept and tended a long time 162

An honest wise man should be cultivated, with a crafty wise man one should be on his guard, an honest fool, however, is to be treated with compassion, while a crafty fool should be shunned utterly. 163

(559) (Your performances have not only ruined your own family, but you have now committed an offense against your lord as well) (560) Therefore, since you have reduced your (own) lord to this plight, anyone else would be as a blade of grass in your eyes And it is said

Where mice eat a balance made of a thousand [pounds] of iron, there a falcon might carry off an elephant; why be surprised at [its carrying off] a boy?" 164

(561) Damanaka said. "(And) how was that?" Said the other

STORY 15. IRON-EATING MICE

(562) In a certain town there was a merchant's son who had lost his money (563) He set out for a far country to seek his fortune. (564) (And) he had (in his house) a balance made

of a thousand *palas*[45] of iron (which he had inherited from his ancestors) (565) (And) he deposited this with another merchant's son and went into a far country (to seek his fortune) (566) And because his luck was bad he returned without having made anything (even after trying a long time), and he askt from that [other merchant] the balance (which he had deposited with him) (567) But he (being avaricious) said "That (balance) has been eaten by mice" (568) (Then) the other thot "(This is a strange thing!) How can mice eat a balance made of a thousand [pounds] of iron?" (569) And smiling inwardly he said "Of course! Quite natural! (For) iron is (stimulating and) sweet (and soft), why should not the mice eat it?" So he assented in words (570) But the other, greatly delighted at heart, (began to offer him hospitality, with washing of the feet and so on, and) invited him to dinner (571) (And there was a river not far from his house Thither,) when the guest set out to bathe, his host also sent his (only) son (after him) with myrobalan-fruits and a bathrobe (572) But the other, after bathing, (on his way back) hid the boy safely away in another friend's house and returned to the merchant's house. (573) And the merchant askt him: (574) "Where is my son that I sent after you? (He has not come back to my house.)" (575) (Then) he replied "He was carried off by a falcon" (576) Upon hearing this he was (greatly) dismayed, and (seized him harshly by the arm and) dragged him into court. (577) And he said: "Help! (Help!) This man (is a villain and) has hidden my son (somewhere)." (578) And the judges askt him (: "What about this? What have you to say?") (579) He said (smiling): "He was carried off by a falcon." (580) (Then) they (were astonisht and) said "(That is unheard-of!) How can a falcon carry off a boy?" (581) Said he: "What is there strange in that?

Where mice eat a balance made of a thousand [pounds] of iron, there a falcon might carry off an elephant, why be surprised at [its carrying off] a boy?" 165.

(582) Hearing this, and having learned the facts, the judges said: "Give him his balance (of a thousand [pounds] of iron),

[45] Most versions specify no unit of weight, the two Sanskrit ones which mention a unit agree on the *pala*, which is really only a fraction (not far from a quarter) of a pound

and then he on his part will bring back the boy" (Thereupon they both did so)

(End of Story 15)

(583) Therefore I say "[Where mice eat] a balance of a thousand [pounds] of iron" &c (584) "(So what is the use of instructing you, since you are as void of understanding as a beast?) Wisdom spreads in a learned man, oil on water, (poison in the blood,) intimacy among the good, (affection among fond women,) a secret among the base, and nobility in the world of the distinguisht (Because.)

A man's nobility lies not in the regulations of his caste[46], the fame of mortals has its roots in their conduct Disrepute, which brings in its train a whole network of disasters, hundreds of them, pursues the ungrateful in this world and in the next 166

(585) And as for your (constant) hostility[47] to all who show the finest qualities, this also is due to your natural temper How so?

As a rule in this world the base-born cease not to envy men of noble birth, those who are unlucky [in love] envy a favorite of women, stingy men envy the generous, dishonest men the honest, mean men the glorious, those who are afflicted with ugliness envy the beautiful, the poor envy the well-to-do, and fools envy him who is verst in all manner of learning 167. And after all·

It is worth while to instruct a man only if he understands what has once been said But you are dull as a stone, what profit is there in instructing you? 168

(586) (Moreover, O fool,) it is not wise even to remain in your company (Otherwise thru association with you some harm may perchance come to me too And it is said)

By associating with good and evil persons a man acquires the virtues and vices [which they possess], even as the wind blowing over different places takes along good and bad odors 169

(You are skillful only in malice, and a destroyer of friendship, nothing can turn out well where such as you are in control. 170)

(587) And also· (Malicious men get no advantage for themselves, but only ruin Even in dire straits the righteous never attempt anything that should not be done For thus [it is said])

[46] Or, "family"

[47] Hertel's text and translation (Tantrākhyāyika A 119) are both wrong

What should not be done should positively not be done, a wise man should not set his mind upon it For even if tormented with extreme thirst, men do not drink water that lies in the road " 171

(588) So speaking Karataka departed from his presence (589) Now when Pingalaka had killed Samjīvaka, (590) his anger was cooled, he (wiped his blood-stained hand, and) said, sighing, tormented with grief and full of repentance. (591) "Alas! It is a (very) wrong thing that I have done in killing Samjīvaka, who was like my other self And it is said·

As to the loss of a parcel of excellent land, or the loss of a wise servant—the loss of servants is the death of kings, lost land is more easily regained than servants " 172

(592) (And) when Damanaka saw him (, Pingalaka,) thus (lamenting and) overcome with grief, he (crept up to him stealthily and) said "Is this proper, (or is it good policy,) to grieve because you have killed your rival? And it is said

Be he father or brother, be he son or friend—he that threatens a king's life must be killed, if the king will prosper 173.

A tender-hearted king, a brahman that eats everything,[48] a disobedient woman, an ill-natured friend, a refractory servant, a negligent official—these must be shunned, and one who shows no gratitude 174

(Go even a long journey where pleasure awaits you, ask a wise person, tho he be a child; give your very body to one in need who asks for it, cut off your very arm if it offend you. 175)

(593) (And, you know, the morality which is common to ordinary mortals is not required of kings And it is said)

A kingdom cannot be ruled according to the common standards of men. For what are vices in men [in general], the same are virtues in a king 176. And also

True and false, harsh and gentle in speech, savage and at the same time compassionate, avaricious and generous, lavish in spending yet taking in great amounts of wealth from many sources—like a harlot, the conduct of kings is changeful " 177

(594) Being thus consoled by Damanaka, Pingalaka recovered his composure (and continued to enjoy the pleasures of sovereignty as before, with Damanaka as his minister)

Here ends the First Book, called the Separation of Friends

[48] Not observing the caste regulations of diet

BOOK II

THE WINNING OF FRIENDS, OR, THE DOVE, CROW, MOUSE, TORTOISE, AND DEER

(1) Now here begins this, the second book, called the Winning of Friends, of which this is the opening stanza

Without resources or property, the intelligent and friendly-minded soon gain their ends, like the crow, the tortoise, the deer, and the mouse 1.

(2) The king's sons said "How was that?" Visnuśarman told this story

(3) There was in the south-country a city named Mahilāropya. (4) Not far from it was a great silk-cotton tree, with a mighty trunk and numerous branches (Birds came from all parts and spent the night in it) (5) And in it dwelt a crow named Light-wing (6) Once he went out to get food early in the morning, and saw coming near the tree a fowler of ferocious aspect, (his fingers and toes were crackt and his body was shaggy;) he carried a staff and a net in his hand, and seemed like Death's double And when the crow saw him he was perturbed at heart and thot (7) "What does this wretch mean to do? Is it I whom he seeks to injure, or has he some other purpose?" So he stayed there and watcht (8) But the hunter came up to the tree, spread out the net, scattered kernels of grain, and placed himself in hiding not far away (9) Now a dove-king named Brightneck, with a following of a thousand doves, as he was flying around there in the air, spied those kernels (10) He succumbed to the temptation and flew down into the net to get the food, and was caught by the meshes of cords, along with his whole following (11) But the hunter was delighted at this sight and ran forward (brandishing his club) (12) Now Brightneck's followers were fluttering about this way and that, and were pulling the net in various directions with their beaks and

feet, and (seeing this) Brightneck said to them (13) "This is a (great) disaster (that has fallen upon us) There is only one means of safety in this case we must all work in concord and fly up (into the air) and go far away Otherwise we cannot carry off the net" (14) And so they did (, hoping to save their lives), they carried off the net and put behind them the distance of an arrow-shot, flying upward into the heavens, and then set off thru the air (15) But the hunter, when he saw his net carried off by the birds, thot "This is an unheard-of thing!", and he ran along with upturned face, thinking

"While these birds are united, to be sure, they can carry off my net; but when they begin to disagree, then they will come into my power" 2

(16) But when Brightneck saw him (, the cruel wretch,) following, he began to go faster (17) Lightwing for his part gave up all thot of food and followed (hard) after the flock of doves, moved by curiosity, and thinking "What will this wretch do about the doves?" (18) But Brightneck, realizing the hunter's purpose, said to his companions "This wretch of a hunter is following us and has not given up hope So the best thing for us is simply to get out of his sight We must (fly up very high and) travel over rugged country, over hills and woods" (19) So the birds flew out of sight (taking the net with them) Then the hunter, perceiving that they had gone out of his sight, gave up hope and turned back (20) But when Brightneck saw that he had turned back, he said to them (21) "(Look you, that wretch of a hunter has turned back So) it is better for us (also to turn back and) to go straight to Mahilāropya. (22) (To the northeast of) there dwells a (dear) friend of mine, a mouse named Goldy (23) We will go to him without delay, he will cut our bonds, (and he has the power) to get us out of our trouble" (24) "Agreed," they said, and when they came near Goldy's hole they flew down (25) Now the shrewd Goldy, fearing mishap, had made a hole with a hundred openings, and was living in it (26) (His heart) being alarmed by the [noise of the] birds' flight, Goldy stayed in hiding. (27) But Brightneck went up to an entrance of the hole and said: "Friend Goldy, come here, please." (28) (And hearing this) Goldy, still keeping well within (his hole-strong-

hold), said "Who are you, Sir?" (29) The other said "I am Brightneck, your friend" (30) But when he heard this, his soul was greatly rejoist (so that his hair stood on end all over his body), and in great excitement he went out, and saw Brightneck with his followers bound in the thongs [of the net], and said in dismay: (31) "My friend, what does this mean? Tell me (, tell me)" (32) Said he "My friend, you are an intelligent person, why do you ask such a question? (It is said)

Whencesoever, and by whatever means, and whenever, and however, and whatever, and to whatever extent, and wherever, a man does—be the deed good or evil, even thence, and by that means, and then, and thus, and that, and to that extent, and there—it comes back to him by the power of fate" 3

(33) Goldy said "That is very true

From a distance of a hundred and ten leagues a bird sees here the carrion-flesh, that same bird, when its time arrives, sees not the snare-thong 4

When I see how the moon and the sun are subject to eclipse, and how elephants and serpents too are taken captive, and how wise men are poverty-stricken, verily, mighty is Fate! is my thot 5

Tho they roam only in the air, birds come to grief; fish are caught by those who know how, even out of the deep water of the sea Of what account are good deeds or bad conduct in this world, and what virtue is there in the attainment of good standing? For Fate stretches forth its arm in calamity and seizes even from afar" 6.

(34) So speaking Goldy began to cut Brightneck's thong (35) Brightneck said "My friend, (do) not (do) so, first cut the thongs of my followers, and afterwards mine." (36) When he had said this for the second and the third time, Goldy said impatiently: (37) "My friend, how is it that you devote yourself to freeing others from distress, taking no account of your own?" (38) Said he: "My friend, be not angry All these (poor wretches) have deserted other leaders and attacht themselves to me So how can I fail to show them so much consideration, at least? (39) Now before you cut my thong, you will not be too tired to cut theirs, while if mine were cut first you might perhaps become tired, sir, and that would not be right That

is why I spoke as I did" (40) When he heard this Goldy was overjoyed, and said "I made trial of you (in speaking thus), [I see that] you are rightly credited with the qualities on which dependants rely

Inasmuch as you show compassion to your dependants and readiness to share [the same lot] with them, by reason of this your disposition you are fit to rule over the whole universe" 7

(41) So saying he cut all their thongs (42) But Brightneck, freed from his captivity, took leave of Goldy, and having received his farewell greetings he flew up and went with his following to his own home Goldy (for his part) entered into his stronghold (43) But Lightwing, who had seen all, how Brightneck was freed from captivity, was astonisht and reflected "How wise this Goldy is, and how powerful and well-equipt his stronghold! (44) Now it would be well for me also to make friends with Goldy (, like Brightneck), for I (too) might get caught in a net or suffer a like misfortune" (45) With this resolve he came down from the tree, approacht the entrance of the hole, and called Goldy by his name (, which he had already learned) "Friend Goldy (, come here, please)!" (46) Hearing this Goldy (thot "Can it be that there is still some other dove who is not wholly freed, and who is calling me by name?" And he) said . "Who are you, Sir?" (47) Said he "I am a crow named Lightwing" (48) Hearing this Goldy lookt out from inside at the crow (who had come to the door of his hole), and said "Go away (from this place)!" (49) The crow said. "I saw how Brightneck was freed by your aid, and I wish to be friends with you (50) Such a calamity may perchance happen to me too, and then I may be set free by your help So you must (without fail) favor me with your friendship, sir" (51) Goldy said with a laugh "How can there be friendship between you and me?

What can't be done, can't be done, only that which can be done can be done A wagon will not go on water, nor a ship on dry land 8

A wise man should try to join only things which can be joined in this world I am [your] food, you, sir, are [my] eater, how shall there be friendship [between us]?" 9.

(52) The crow said

'Even if I ate you I should not get much food, while by letting you live I might save my own life, even as Brightneck did, noble sir 10

(53) Therefore it is not right that you, sir, should scorn my request

Trust may be placed even in beasts, and an alliance with them resolved upon, if they are righteous, by reason of their good character, as with you and Brightneck 11

The soul of a righteous person, even tho he be offended, does not suffer change, for the water of the ocean cannot be heated with a torch of straw 12

Your noble qualities spread themselves abroad even without being celebrated; fragrant jasmine, even when covered up, yet exhales perfume" 13.

(54) (Hearing this) Goldy said· "(Sir,) you are fickle (by your very nature And it is said)

The fickle person is not faithful to himself, how can be be faithful to others? Therefore the fickle person is sure to ruin all undertakings 14

(55) (Therefore leave this place, where you are blocking my stronghold)" (56) Said he· "(Friend,) why these (harsh words about fickle and not fickle)? (I have been so attracted by your excellent qualities, sir, that) I must without fail make friends with you (, this is my firm resolve)" (57) Goldy said "Why, how can I make friends with you who are my enemy? And it is said

One should by no means make an alliance with an enemy, even tho the bond be very close, water, tho heated very hot, still puts out fire" 15

(58) The crow said "Why, I never so much as saw you before, how can I be your enemy? So why talk nonsense?" (59) (Then) Goldy (smiled and) said. "My dear sir, you must know that there are two kinds of enmity in this world, as the books explain, natural and casual And you are my natural enemy" The crow said "Well, I should like to hear the distinguishing marks of the two kinds of enmity. (So tell me)" Said he· "Well, casual enmity is produced by a specific cause, and it is removed by an act of kindness suited to the cause; while innate enmity, on the other hand, is never removed by

any means (And) this innate enmity, again, is of two kinds, one-sided enmity and mutual enmity" The crow said "What is the distinction between them?' Said he. "If either may slay the other and either may be devoured by the other, that is mutual enmity, because the injury is mutual, as in the case of the lion and the elephant But if one slays and devours [the other] for no previous cause, and the other does him no injury, harms him not and devours him not, that is one-sided enmity, due to no cause, as in the case of (the horse and the buffalo,) the cat and the mouse, the serpent and the mongoose What injury does (the horse do to the buffalo, or) the serpent (do) to the mongoose, or the mouse to the cat?—So why speak of making an alliance which is utterly impossible? Moreover

'He is my friend,' you say? What reliance can you place in an evil man for that reason? 'I have done a great deal for him'—that is of no avail 'He is a kinsman'—that is a threadbare tale. For people are controlled by the merest bit of coin 16. (And again)

Tho he may have been cherisht and favored with many benefits, dearly loved, and saved from countless mishaps, because of his evil nature an unrighteous man does not beget the smallest particle of confidence, he is like a snake sleeping in one's bosom 17

If a man, even with a great store of wealth,[1] puts trust in enemies, or in a wife that has no affection for him, his life is ended then and there 18

But one who is willing to make an alliance again with a friend that has once proved false, receives death unto himself, as a she-mule that receives the seed[2] 19

It is no cause for trust that you have given no offense. For malicious men are a source of danger even to the noble" 20

(60) The crow said. "I have heard all that. But nevertheless I am going to make friends with you wholesouledly (And this is possible.) For it is said

[1] That is, according to Hertel, even if he showers wealth upon them But perhaps rather, even if he be very well provided with worldly goods, which would make his fall the less to be expected

[2] The traditional Hindu belief is that she-mules can foal, but at the cost of their lives.

Union of all metals results from their melting, of beasts and birds from a specific cause, of fools from fear and avarice, [but] of the righteous from mere sight [of one another] 21

(How then?)

Like an earthen vessel a base man is easily sundered and hard to put together, but a righteous man is like a golden vessel, hard to sunder, but easy to put together 22.

(61) Whom else than you, sir, could I find markt by these virtues? So it is fitting, in spite of what you say, that you should unite with me If you do not, I will starve myself to death at your door" (62) (Hearing this) Goldy said: "You have convinst me, (so) be it as you wish (63) But I spoke as I did (to test your disposition,) so that, if now you should slay me, at least you might not think that I was a fool and that you had got the better of me by cleverness of wit (Since I have proved this to you,) now my head is in your lap" (64) So saying he began to come out, but when he had come out only a little, (half way,) he stopt again (65) (Then) the crow said. "(My friend,) is there even yet something that makes you distrust me, so that you do not come out of your stronghold?" (66) Said he "(I have something that I must say) For in this world people live either according to the heart or with an eye to profit (These two are opposed to each other) Union with the heart is advantageous, but not [union for] profit. A man may offer abundant sesame-grains to partridges, but he does it in order to destroy them; is that meant as a favor to them? Is it not rather to slay them utterly?

Benefit is no proof of friendship, nor is injury a sure sign of enmity The only determining factor in this case is the heart—whether it is good or evil 23

(67) Now that I have come to know your heart I have no fear of you But yet some other friend of yours might perchance destroy me while I am off my guard" (To which) the other replied

"A friend that is acquired by destroying a virtuous friend —him one should cast out, like millet that chokes the hills of rice" 24

(68) And hearing this [Goldy] (quickly) came out, and they (respectfully) greeted each other.

Forming a friendship close and inseparable as the nails and the flesh [of the fingers], the mouse and the crow entered into an alliance, recognizing the same friends and foes. 25

(69) They stayed there some time, and after Goldy had entertained the crow with food, he took leave of him, and entered his home, and the crow too went his way. (70) But Lightwing went into a (certain) forest thicket and saw there a wild buffalo that had been killed by a tiger, and (when he had eaten as much as he pleased on the spot,) he took a piece of the meat and went (straight) to Goldy, and called to him: "(Come here, come here, friend Goldy,) eat this meat that I have brought you." (71) And Goldy too had diligently prepared a (very) large heap of (huskt) millet-kernels for the crow, and he said: "My friend, eat these kernels, which I have gathered for you by my own efforts." (72) (And) then, tho both had eaten enuf, each ate [what was offered] to show his love for the other. And day by day they spent their time in friendship (such as the world rarely sees, exchanging courteous inquiries and talking confidentially with each other). (73) Now once upon a time the crow came and said to Goldy: (74) "Friend (Goldy), I am leaving this place and going elsewhere." (Said he: "Friend, what for?" The other replied: "Because I am tired of this life." Goldy replied: "Why so?" Said he:) (75) "Every day I have to get nourishment for my beak, and we birds are in terror of being caught in nets, a mishap which we see happening ever and anon. So I am done with this manner of living." (Goldy said: "Then whither will you go?" He replied:) (76) "Not far from here, in a forest (thicket), there is a large lake. There dwells a dear friend of mine, a tortoise named Sluggish (, whose friendship I won long ago). (77) And he will support me with fish and other dainty foods, I shall pass the time with him in comfort, undisturbed." (78) Hearing this Goldy said: "I too will go with you, sir, I too am tired of life in this place." (79) Said the crow: "And why are you tired of life?" (80) Goldy said: "(Well,) it is a long story, after we have come to that place, I will tell (you all of) it." (81) While he was yet speaking the crow pickt up his friend in his beak and carried him to (that) large lake. (82) Now Sluggish saw (from a distance) the crow approaching

(with the mouse). Being prudent,[3] he wondered who it was, and, to be on the safe side, (jumpt off from the shore and) dived into the water. (83) Lightwing in turn was frightened by the splash in the water, and (wondering what it meant) he set Goldy down again on the beach and flew up into a (large) tree (to reconnoitre). And (perching on the tree) he said: (84) "(Ho,) Sluggish, come here (, come here)! I am your friend the crow (named Lightwing), and I have come here eager [to see you] after this long absence. So come and embrace me." (85) When Sluggish heard this and understood what it meant, (his flesh bristled with joy and his eyes were suffused with glad tears. And) he came out quickly from the water, saying: "Forgive my offense that I did not know you." And he embraced Lightwing, who came down from the tree. (86) And after he had joyfully offered hospitality to both of them, he askt the crow: "(Comrade,) whence do you come? How is it that you have come with a mouse to an uninhabited forest? And who is this mouse?" (87) The crow said: "(Comrade,) this mouse is named Goldy. Only one who had a thousand tongues could describe (in due fashion) the extent of his virtues—blessings on him! (And well has this been said:)

Is it not characteristic of the noble that their affections last till the end of their lives, that their anger is gone in a moment, and that their generous deeds are quite unselfish?" 26

(88) So saying he told (him) the whole story of Brightneck's liberation and of his own alliance with the mouse. (89) But when Sluggish heard this praise of Goldy's good qualities, he was astonisht, and askt Goldy: "(Now) why did you become so tired of life, (or what manner of ill-usage did you suffer,) that you were moved to abanbon your native land (and your friends, kinsmen, and spouse)?" (90) The crow said: "I too askt him this very question before, (but) he said the story was too long and he would tell it (when he arrived) at this place; (and he has not [yet] told it even to me.) So now, friend Goldy, tell us (both together why you became tired of life)." (Then) Goldy told his story:

[3] Literally, "knowing times and places."

STORY 1 MOUSE AND TWO MONKS

(91) (In the south country) there is a city named Mahilāropya Not far from it is a monk's hermitage, and in it dwelt a monk named Tuft-ear (92) And at begging-time he was wont to get his alms-bowl filled from that city with various dainties (, containing dried sugar and molasses and pomegranates, and delicious with sticky substances) Then he would return to his hermitage and, having (formally) broken his fast, would put away the food that was left from the meal[4] (carefully concealed) in his alms-bowl for his servants who came in the morning, and would hang this (alms-bowl) on a wall-peg and go to sleep (when night came) (93) And I would jump up every day and eat that food, and I and my followers lived on it (94) The monk was in despair because I kept eating it, however carefully he put it away In his dread of me he kept moving it from one place to another and yet higher place, but in spite of all I had no trouble in getting it and eating it (95) Now (while this was going on, after some time) it happened that a (dear) friend of his, a monk named Fat-paunch,[5] came to him (to be his guest) (96) Tuft-ear received him with the proper forms of welcome, and when he had performed religious rites in due fashion,[6] (97) (then) in the evening he sat on his couch and askt Fat-paunch, who had gone to bed: "Since the time when you and I parted, sir, what various regions or penance-groves have you wandered thru?" (98) The other began his story: "It was on the festival of the full moon of the month Kārttika, when we had been bathing at the exalted pilgrimage-place of Puskara, that I was parted from you because of the great crowd of people. After that I wandered all up and down the Ganges, to Hardwar, Allahabad, Benares, and other [places of pilgrimage], in short, I visited the whole earth,

[4] This was a violation of the rules for monks, who were forbidden to accept more food than they could eat at the time Both monks in this story are represented thruout as hypocrites, compare the next two notes

[5] Literally, "Big-buttocks"

[6] Either this is an ironical expression for "after they had eaten a hearty meal" (monks were supposed to eat very little and very simply), or else (as indicated by certain versions) the original may have contained a phrase of that meaning, instead of the phrase translated above

from sea to sea.' (99) And while he was in the midst of the story, Tuft-ear kept constantly striking the alms-bowl with a split-bamboo stick and making it ring, to frighten me away. (100) This interfered with the telling of the story, so that Fat-paunch was angered and said: (101) "I am doing you a courtesy by telling you my story, sir; why are you so discourteous (and apparently insolent) as to seem bored with my tale and to fix your mind on something else?" (102) Tuft-ear (was embarrast and) said: "My friend, do not be angry, I am not bored, but look, this mouse, my enemy, is always jumping up and reaching my alms-bowl, no matter how high I hang it, and he eats the remains of the alms in it. (And I cannot prevent him in any way.) (103) I keep striking the alms-bowl ever and anon with this split bamboo to frighten away that mouse; that is the only reason." (104) Said he: "Is this the only mouse here, or are there other mice too?" (105) He replied: "I do not trouble about other mice, it is just this one scoundrel that is forever tricking me, like a sorcerer." (106) (Hearing this) the other replied: "Such power does not belong to a mere mouse; (no,) there must be some reason for this. (And it is said:)

Not for nothing does Mother Śāṇḍilī trade sesame for sesame, huskt for likewise huskt; there must be some reason for this." 27

(107) Tuft-ear said: "And how was that?" Said he:

STORY 2. HUSKT FOR HUSKT SESAME

(108) Once when the rainy-season was at hand, I entreated lodging of a brahman in a certain town (, that I might get a fixt home).[7] And I abode in his house. (109) Now one day I awoke towards morning and heard the brahman and his wife talking behind their screen, and I listened to what they said. The brahman was saying: (110) "(Wife,) tomorrow will be a day of the moon's change, so do you offer hospitality to brahmans, to the best of our ability." (111) She replied (in a very shrewish tone of voice): "How can you entertain brahmans, when you are so hopelessly poor!" (112) When she said this to him, (he felt as if he were plunged into a well, and had

[7] During the rains, when wandering is not customary.

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(108) Once when the rainy-season was at hand, I entreated lodging of a brahman in a certain town (, that I might get a fixt home)[7] And I abode in his house (109) Now one day I awoke towards morning and heard the brahman and his wife talking behind their screen; and I listened to what they said The brahman was saying· (110) "(Wife,) tomorrow will be a day of the moon's change, so do you offer hospitality to brahmans, to the best of our ability" (111) She replied (in a very shrewish tone of voice) "How can you entertain brahmans, when you are so hopelessly poor!" (112) When she said this to him, (he felt as if he were plunged into a well, and had

[7] During the rains, when wandering is not customary

not a word to say. But after a long pause) he replied "Wife, you should not say that (Even poor people should, at proper seasons, give something, be it little or much, to worthy persons And it is said)

Always be thrifty, but do not be too thrifty Because he was too thrifty, the jackal was killed by the bow" 28

(113) Said she. "(And) how was that?" He replied·

STORY 3: TOO GREEDY JACKAL

(114) In a certain place there was a hunter who lived on flesh And he arose early one morning, fitted on arrow [to his bow], and set out for the woods to hunt (115) Very soon he slew a deer and took (the flesh of) it and turned homeward (116) (As he was coming down a steep bank to a ford,) he saw a boar as big as a young buffalo, with uplifted tusk (, his body smeared with lumps of mud) (117) When he saw it he was frightened (by reason of the evil omen), and turned back, but found the way blockt by the boar, so he threw on the ground the (deer's) flesh (rolled up in a bundle), (118) drew his bow, and shot at him an arrow (smeared with poison), which (pierst his neck and) went thru to the other side (119) But the boar, tho stunned by the wound, roused himself to a last furious attack and wounded the hunter in the entrails so severely that he gave up the ghost, and fell (on the ground, his body torn in three parts. Then, having killed the hunter, the boar also was overcome by the pain of the arrow-wound, and died). (120) Shortly after this a jackal named Longhowl, his belly lean with hunger, as he wandered about in search of food, came to that place and saw the deer, the hunter, and the boar (dead) (121) And when he saw them he was overjoyed and thot· "(Ha!) Fate is kind to me; it has given me all this unexpected food. (122) I will eat it in such a way that I may live on it a long time

Since food and drink are not always available for mortals, when one has got a generous supply of provender, he should make use of it little by little. 29

(123) So first I shall (put by the deer, the boar, and the hunter in a pile, and) eat this sinew-cord on the tip of the

bow" (124) So saying he took the cord of the bow in his mouth and began to eat (the sinew) (125) (Whereupon) as the cord was severed he was pierst (by the bow) in the throat,[8] and perisht

(End of Story 3)

(126) Therefore I say "Always be thrifty" &c (127) (And hearing this) the brahman's wife said "(Well then,) I have a bit of sesame and a little rice, (128) do you get up early in the morning and go to the woods and get firewood and *kuśa*-grass and the other things needed, and I (along with this pupil [of yours], Kāmandaki,) will prepare a gruel for three brahmans" (129) So in the morning she huskt the sesame and spread it out in the sunlight, setting Kāmandaki in charge of it and telling him to watch it. (130) Thereupon, while she was busy with household duties, (Kāmandaki failed to pay attention, and) a dog came and nibbled at the sesame and defiled[9] it (131) Seeing this she said· "Kāmandaki, this is a bad thing that has happened, it will keep us from entertaining the brahmans (132) But after all—go you and exchange this sesame (, huskt as it is,) for black sesame, and come back (quickly, I will make a black gruel instead)" (133) This was done, and Kāmandaki came to the very same house which I had entered to beg alms, and tried to exchange the sesame (saying: "Take this sesame!") (134) While the trade was in process, the master of the house came in, and said "On what terms are you trading this sesame?" She said to him· "I have got sesame of equal value, white for black" Then he (smiled and) said. "There must be some reason for this" Therefore I say· "Not for nothing does Mother Śāṇḍilī", &c

(End of Story 2)

(135) When the monk had told this story he said: "Tuft-ear, in this case too there must be some reason why this mouse has such irresistible power and can eat the alms[-food] (136)

[8] Literally "palate" (some versions read "mouth", "neck", "breast", "heart")

[9] The sesame was defiled because it had been toucht by a dog, an unclean animal See Addenda et Corrigenda to Volume 1

Have you perchance a spade?" Said he "Certainly I have (, here is one all made of iron, with a fine handle) ' (137) And when it was brought to him he (tied on his girdle and set his lips firmly and) demanded: "By what way does he come?' And being told this he started to dig up my hole (with the spade) (138) Now at the very beginning I had overheard their private talk and, being curious, I had stopt to listen (, giving up all thot of food) (139) But when he began to search out my stronghold, then I realized "This villain has discovered the entrance to my hole." (140) I had got possession of some gold that had been placed there long ago (by a usurer), and by its power I felt myself strong (141) But that villain traced the way to my hole and found the money and took it, and returned to the hermitage, and said to Tuft-ear ' This, priest, is that gold of his, it is by the power of this[10] that he jumps up even to an [otherwise] impossible place" And they divided it half and half and sat down and took their ease (142) Having suffered this disaster I thot "If perchance they should make a light while I am here, they would surely catch me and kill me" So I left that place and located my stronghold elsewhere (143) And the other [mice], who were my followers, came and said to me "Sir Goldy, we that live with you are grievously hungry, we have not a single bite of anything to eat, even at the end of the day we have not found anything So be good enuf to get us something to eat this very day" (144) I agreed, and went with them to the hermitage. (145) Then Tuft-ear heard the noise of my followers, and once more he began to strike the alms-bowl with the split-bamboo stick. (146) His friend said to him: "The mouse is undone now, why do you keep swinging your stick from time to time even yet? (Stop it, have done!)" (147) (Then) the monk replied. "My friend, this mouse, my enemy, keeps coming back again and again. (148) (For fear of him I am doing so)" Then the guest smiled and said "(Friend,) be not afraid, his power of jumping up has departed along with his money (For) this is the unvarying rule with all living beings" (149) Now when I heard this (I was enraged, and) I jumpt with all my might in

[10] Or, with the reading parenthetized in the text, "it is just by the power of his heart"

the direction of the alms-bowl, but nevertheless I failed to reach it, and fell to the ground Then he, my enemy, seeing me, (laught and) said to Tuft ear· "(See, my friend, see! Tis a sight worth seeing For it is said)

By wealth it is that every man becomes powerful, and by wealth he becomes learned, behold how this villain of a mouse has become like his own kind again 30

(150) (So sleep undisturbed,) the cause of his power of jumping up has past into our hands (alone) ' (151) Hearing this I reflected (in my heart) "It is the truth that he has spoken (For now) my power is diminisht (and my courage and vigor are lost), and even to get my food I have not the power to jump up (so much as a finger's length)" (152) And I heard how my followers were murmuring to each other· "Come, let us depart, this fellow cannot even support his own belly, to say nothing of other people's (So what is the use of waiting on him?) ' (153) (Then I went to my own abode, thinking "So far it has gone! ' And in the morning) every one of them went over to my rivals (, saying "That fellow is poor!") That was the way my followers behaved, not one of them came to see me. And when I lookt, those same followers of mine, seeing me before their very eyes, were playing with my rivals, shouting cheerfully to each other and clapping their hands And I reflected· "So it goes!

He who has money has friends, he who has money has kinsmen, he who has money is a man in the world, and he who has money is a scholar. 31 (And again)

When a man is stript of wealth, and his understanding is weak, all his undertakings fail, like little brooks in summer 32

When a man is deprived of money, his friends desert him, and his sons, and his wife, and his brothers When he gets rich, back they come to him again For money is a man's [only] kinsman in this world 33

Empty is the house of a man without a son, empty is the heart of a man who has not a faithful friend; empty are [all] quarters for a fool, everything is empty for a poor man. 34

He has the same faculties unimpaired, the same name, the same mind uninjured, the same voice, he is the same man, and yet, when he loses the radiance of wealth, he suddenly becomes another a curious thing is this 35.

(154) (So what now would it be best for me to do, in my present plight?) Since (the fruit of my past deeds has turned out thus, and) I have lost my money, it is by all means best for me to stay no longer in this place (And it is said)

Let a man dwell in a place that is honorable, and not cleave to one that is dishonorable Let him shun even a celestial palace[11] in association with gods, if it be not honorable " 36

(155) (But after saying this I reflected further as follows) "Shall I then beg for alms of some one? Nay, that would be worse yet, it would mean the life of a beggar For

A crooked tree that grows in salty earth, gnawed by worms, its bark stript off by a forest fire,—even its existence is better than a beggar's. 37

Stammering in the throat, sweat on the countenance, pallor and trembling—the same signs that mark a dying man mark also a beggar 38

It is the home of wretchedness, it steals away the mind; it breeds false suspicions, it is a synonym of death, the dwelling-place of misery, the chief store-house of apprehensions, it is insignificance incarnate, the seat of disasters, and robs the proud of their dignity, all this is what the beggar's estate means for the wise I cannot see that it is anything else than hell 39 And again

Without wealth a man becomes diffident, afflicted with diffidence, he loses his dignity, without dignity, he is ill-used, from ill-usage he comes to despair, despairing, he becomes a prey to anguish; if his soul is in anguish his mind gives way, when his mind is gone he goes to ruin. Behold, poverty is the source of all woes! 40. Likewise

Better to thrust both hands into the enraged jaws of a serpent, better also to drink poison and go to sleep in the house of Death, better to throw oneself down from the brow of a lofty mountain and be dasht in a hundred pieces—than to make oneself comfortable on money begged from base men 41.

It is better that a man who has lost his means should feed the fire with his life, than to beg of a mean and churlish man 42

[11] *Vimāna* the word is also, punningly, understood as meaning "lacking in honor" *(vi+māna)*

(156) (And) now, since things have come to such a pass, by what (other) means could I possibly keep alive? By theft perhaps? But that also is worse yet, for it means taking the goods of another Because

Better to keep silence than to speak a word that is false, better to be a eunuch than to go after another's wife, better to give up the breath of life than to take delight in slander, better to live on alms than to enjoy goods stolen from others 43

(157) Then shall I support myself by the doles of charity? That would be terrible, that also is a second gate of death (For.)

For a sick man, for one in long exile, for one who eats another's bread, and for one who sleeps in another's house, to be alive is death, and death for them is rest 44.

(158) Therefore it is clear that I must get back that same money (which Fat-paunch stole) For I saw how those two scoundrels put the casket of money under their pillow I will bring that wealth back to my own stronghold, so that I may once more get the sovereignty that was formerly mine, by the marvelous power of the money " (159) (And) so thinking I went there in the night, and while he was sound asleep I (crept up and) made a hole in the casket (160) But just then the monk awoke, and straightway he hit me on the head with his stick (of split-bamboo) (161) With a remnant of my life left, I made shift to get away (and returned to my hole) without being killed. (162) Yet once more, after a long time, my hopes revived and I took courage and crept up near the dinars; but he struck me such a merciless blow on the head with his club that to this very day I shudder at the sight of such people even in dreams And see this wound on my head, which was made at that time! And this is well said

When a man gets into a dire calamity, so that he runs a risk of losing his life outright, in the face of present danger he will know nothing of hateful riches, and longs [only] for his life. But when he is saved, then for the sake of riches he once more rushes into another calamity In their eagerness for life and wealth, men hazard each for the sake of the other 45.

(163) After many reflections of this sort I decided to let that wealth of mine go, and I ceast from my thirst for it. And this is well said:

Knowledge is the true organ of sight, not the eye Righteousness is true nobility, not birth in a noble family Contentment is true prosperity True wisdom consists in desisting from what cannot be accomplisht 46

All fortune belongs to him who has a contented mind Surely the whole earth is covered with leather for him whose feet are encased in shoes 47

The joy of those whose minds are at peace, because they have drunk their fill of the nectar of contentment, is far beyond the reach of those who are ever rushing hither and yon in their greed for gold 48

A hundred leagues is not far to a man who is driven by cupidity, but the contented man pays no heed to money that comes into his very hand 49

(164) So since wealth is unattainable by any means, discernment is (really) the best course And it is said

What is religion? Compassion for all living creatures What is happiness for people in this world? Good health What is affection? A kind disposition What is wisdom? Discernment 50

(165) So thinking I came into an uninhabited forest There I saw Brightneck caught in a net, and after I had set him free as you have heard, (by the grace of my acquired merit) Lightwing here favored me with his friendly attentions And some time after this he (, Lightwing,) came to me and askt me to come hither And so I came, (along) with him, to visit you (So this was why I became weary of life Moreover)

The entire threefold universe, including deer, serpents, and antelopes, gods, demons, and men—all alike live [just] by taking nourishment before midday 51.

Whether he be a conqueror of the whole earth, or whether he have sunk to a degraded condition—a man who would eat must, when the time comes, get his little measure of rice 52

What intelligent man, pray, would do an odious act for the sake of this [body, or life], when the outcome of it [the body, or life] is evil, has a base end, and comes to naught? 53.

(End of Story 1)

(166) (And) hearing this Sluggish spoke encouragingly to him: "My friend, be not perturbed because you have left your own country (You are wise, why let your mind be troubled? Moreover)

People may remain fools even after studying the books of learning But the truly wise man is he who acts [according to what he has learned] For a sick man may ponder the name of a healing remedy as much as he likes, but does that alone make him well? 54

If a man is afraid to be resolute, for him the acquisition of knowledge has not the least effect For tho a blind man may hold a lamp in the palm of his hand, does it do him any good? 55

In the revolutions of fortune men who have given [alms] become beggars, men that have slain are slain themselves, and men that have tormented others are tormented 56

(167) (So, my friend, live your life here in [this] more desirable estate) And (moreover) have no such thots as this

Teeth, hair, nails, and men are of no account when removed from their native places A wise man should know this and not abandon his native place 57

(168) (Now) such is the practice of base men. (For to the noble there is no difference between a native and a foreign land.) Since·

What can be called the native land, or what a foreign country, for a man who is steadfast and wise? Whatsoever land he lingers in, even that he makes his own by the power of his arm Whatever forest a lion penetrates with the furious blows of his teeth, claws, and tail—even there he slakes his thirst on the blood of the noble elephants he slays 58

(169) Accordingly, my friend, you should always be strenuous, knowing that wealth and enjoyments never depart from the strenuous (And again:)

Like frogs to a pond, like fish to a full lake, so to the strenuous man come of themselves both helpers and money. 59

Be a man energetic, prompt to act, skillful in performance, free from vices, bold, grateful for favors, firm in friendship,—then Fortune herself seeks him out to dwell with him. 60

Be a man irresolute, slothful, relying on fate, and without manly courage,—then Fortune is unwilling to embrace him, as a charming woman her aged spouse. 61

(If capable of energetic action, a man can acquire wealth in this world, even tho he be foolish No respect is paid to a man whose energy fails him, even if he have a mind like Brihaspati's [12] 62)

(170) Tho you have lost your riches, Sir, you are gifted with insight and energy (and power, so that you are not to be compared with an ordinary mortal) How then?

Even without riches a resolute man attains a place of high honor and distinction, whereas a weakling, tho surrounded with riches, falls to a place of contempt A dog may put on a golden collar, but he does not thereby attain the majesty of a lion, for that is born of native endowment and increases thru the acquisition of a mass of noble qualities 63

He who abounds in valor and resolution, and has energy and power as well, and who thinks always of the ocean as no more than a tiny puddle and the prince of mountains [Himālaya] as no more than the peak of an anthill,—to him Fortune comes willingly, but not to the faint-hearted 64

Meru's peak is not too high, nor hell too deep, nor the vast ocean too boundless, for men who are seconded by firm resolve 65

Why exult in the thot that you have wealth, or why be cast down at the loss thereof? The ups and downs of men are like a [bouncing] ball that is struck with the hand 66.

(171) (Now youth and wealth are quite as fleeting as bubbles in the water Since)

The shadow of a cloud, the friendship of a scoundrel, young corn, and maidens, can be enjoyed but for a brief space, and so with youth and wealth 67

(172) So, friend (Goldy), you should realize this and not be distrest, even tho robbed of your wealth (And it is said)

What is not to be, that will not be, what is to be, that cannot be otherwise This antidote that destroys the poison of care—why not drink it? 68

(173) Therefore dwell in freedom from all care for your livelihood.

He who made swans white, parrots yellow, and peacocks varicolored—he will provide for your life 69

[12] Preceptor of the gods and god of wisdom

A man should never mourn for his riches when he has fallen on adversity, nor yet should he give vent to rejoicing when he has come upon good fortune For the results that develop in accordance with men's past deeds inevitably come to them, be they good or bad 70.

Every day the pure in heart should perform at least a small pious act,—a religious observance, vow, or fast For death is ever ready to fall upon the lives of creatures, however they may strive [to avoid it] 71

There is no other treasure like charity, what happiness is like contentment? Where is an adornment like good character? And there is no profit on earth like health 72

(174) In short (then), this dwelling is your own, (be of good cheer and unafraid, and) spend your time (here) right with me in loving affection " (175) And when Lightwing heard the words of Sluggish, so full of the essence of all wisdom, his face beamed with satisfaction and he said (176) "Friend Sluggish, you are rightly credited with the qualities on which dependants rely For by this protection which you have afforded Goldy you have given the greatest satisfaction to my heart. (What wonder is there in this? It is said)

When dear friends are joined with dear friends and their joy and delight are mutual, it is they who drink the cream of happiness, it is they who really live, and they who are truly noble 73

Tho their station be exalted, yet are they poor, and their labors are vain, those who make [their own] lives their sole object, whose hearts are so seduced by cupidity that they fail to make their fortunes, freely offered, the adornment of their friends. 74

It is only the noble who are ever able to rescue the noble from distress It is only elephants that can be harnest to the task of pulling out elephants that are sunk in a bog 75.

Give protection always to the righteous, even at the risk of your life For only in doing good to others do the fortunate find profit in bodily existence 76

Among all men on earth he alone is praiseworthy, and he only has completed the whole duty of righteous men, from whom neither beggars nor suppliants depart disappointed, failing of their desires." 77

(177) Now while they were conversing thus a deer named Dapple-body, frightened by hunters and thirsty, came to that (large) pool (178) (And) when they saw him coming their hearts were greatly alarmed, and they started to run away Panting for a drink, the deer came swiftly down into the water, and hearing the splash of it, (179) Sluggish dived (hastily from the bank) into the water (180) Goldy too (was frightened and) ran into a hole (in a tree-stump) (181) And Lightwing (flew up to find out what it meant, and) alighted on a (tall) tree (182) But Dapple-body stopt still on the very edge of the pond, in fear for his life. (183) Then Lightwing flew up in the air and lookt over the ground all around for the distance of a league, and alighted on the tree (again), (184) and said to Sluggish "Come back, come back, there is no danger to you from any quarter. (I have lookt around, and there is nothing but a grass-eating deer that has come to the pond to get a drink)" (185) At these words (the prudent Sluggish came out again, and) all three of them (, being reassured,) returned to the same spot (186) Then Sluggish said (hospitably) to the deer "Friend, drink (and bathe in) the water to your heart's content And when you are refresht, come back here" (187) (When he heard these words) Dapple-body reflected. "There is no danger at all to me from these creatures, because a tortoise, as everyone knows, can do nothing out of the water, while the mouse and the crow eat only dead flesh, and only tiny bodies at that. So I will go with them" (188) With these thots he joined them (And) Sluggish said to Dapple-body, after he had welcomed him and otherwise treated him civilly: "May good luck be yours, sir (Tell us,) how did you come to this hidden place in the woods?" (189) (To which) the other replied "I am tired of the grievous roaming life I have been leading (Horsemen, dogs, and) hunters headed me off from this way and that, and I was frightened, and (ran as fast as I could and outstript them all and) came hither (looking for a drink). Now I should like to make friends with you" (190) (When) Sluggish (heard this he) said: "My friend, be not afraid. This house is your own Dwell here to your heart's content, free from annoyance" (191) Thenceforth they all spent the time in loving converse with each other, each doing as he listed, every

day (at noon-time), after they had eaten, they would meet in the shade of a large tree and would engage in earnest discussion of various learned topics (192) But one day Dapple-body failed to arrive at the customary hour (193) (And when they did not see him,) their hearts were troubled (by an evil omen which just then occurred,) and they suspected that some accident had happened to him, and they could not feel easy (194) Then Sluggish said to Lightwing. "(You are an expert in this business, because your powers are suited to it So) fly up and find out what has happened to Dapple-body." (195) At these words Lightwing flew up, and before he had gone far he saw Dapple-body at a place that led down to water, bound by a strong leather strap attacht to a stake (196) And (coming up) he said to him (sadly)· "(My friend,) how comes it that you have fallen into such a plight?" (197) Dapple-body said: "(My friend,) this is no time for reproaches; (it is clear that this threatens my death So do not delay; because [while] you are a capable person, sir, you are not skilled at cutting thongs) So go quickly and bring Goldy, and he will be able to cut this thong (with ease)" (198) Lightwing (, saying "So be it,") went back to Sluggish and Goldy, and told them of Dapple-body's captivity, (199) (and urged [Goldy] to loose Dapple-body's thong,) (200) and (right) speedily brought Goldy there (201) (When he saw Dapple-body in such a state,) Goldy (was greatly distrest and) said to him "Comrade, you have the eye of wisdom, how did you get into this plight?" (202) Said he "Comrade, why do you ask that? (You know that) fate is all-powerful. And it is said

What can even a man of shining wisdom do in the face of that great ocean of calamities, Death [Fate]? Who can hold in check Him who, unseen, can fall upon each and every man either by night or in broad day? 78. (And again)

(Even the minds of the wise go bowed down [like cripples], when held captive by Death's thongs and when their judgment is smitten by Fate 79)

(203) So (my noble friend, since you know the pranks that Fate plays, do you quickly) cut this thong, before the (cruel) hunter comes" (204) (Thus addrest) Goldy said "(Friend, do not fear,) while I am at your side there is no danger from

the hunter. (But I am asking because I am curious to know how you were trickt, since you are always wary in your actions)" (205) Said he "(If you are determined to hear it, then hear how) altho I have already known (the bitterness of) captivity, by the power of Fate I am (now) taken captive (again)." (206) Said the other. "(Tell me,) how (now) did you suffer captivity before?" Dapple-body said:

STORY 4 DEER'S FORMER CAPTIVITY

(207) Once upon a time I was a six-months-old foal. (208) (And I ran in front of all the rest, and easily going a long distance [ahead] I would act as guard to the herd Now we have two kinds of gaits, the upright [hurdling], and the straight-away [running] Of these I was acquainted with the straight-away, but not with the upright gait) (209) Now once upon a time (as I ran along, I lost sight of the herd of deer. My heart was terrified, and I gazed about in all directions to see where they had gone, and perceived them some distance ahead For) they (, employing the upright gait.) had all leapt over a snare and gone on ahead (, and were waiting and looking for me) (210) And I (rusht forward employing the straight-away gait,) because I did not know how to go (the upright gait, and was entangled in the net. Thereupon I) was caught by the hunter when he came up (211) (And) he took me and brought me to the king's son (for him to play with) (212) But (the king's son was greatly delighted at seeing me, and gave a reward to the hunter. And) he petted and tended me with dainty food such as I liked, and with other attentions—rubbing me with unguents, bathing and feeding me, and providing me with perfumes and ointments And the women of the harem and the princes, finding me very interesting, (past me around from one person to another and) annoyed me (greatly by pulling at my neck and eyes, hands, feet, and ears, and by the like attentions) (213) Now once upon a time, (during the rainy season,) when I was (right) under the prince's bed, the longings of my heart were stirred by the sound of the thunder of the clouds (and the sight of the lightning), so that (my thots went back to my own herd and) I spoke (as follows).

"When shall it be my lot to follow behind the herd of deer as it runs [hither and yon], driven about by the wind and rain?" 80

(214) Thereupon the prince (,who was alone,) was astonisht and spoke (as follows) "(I am all alone,) who was it that spoke these words (here)?" (215) (His heart was greatly troubled, and) he lookt all around, and notist me (216) (And) when he saw me [he thot] "It was no human being who said this, but a deer Therefore this is a portent (and I am surely undone)' (217) So thinking he became greatly agitated (His speech faltered, and with difficulty he ran out of the house, and) he fell seriously ill (, as if possest of a mighty demon) (218) (Then in the morning, being stricken with a fever,) he addrest himself to all the physicians and devil-doctors, stirring their cupidity (with [a promise of] much money): (219) ("Whoever can cure this my disease, to him I will give no mean fee" But I was) at this time (being beaten by the thotless crowd with blows of sticks, bricks, and clubs, when) a certain (saintly man came to my rescue, as my life was not yet spent, and said. "Why are you killing this [poor] beast?" And this) noble man, who knew the meaning of all signs, said to the king's son. (220) "(Sir,) all the tribes of animals can speak, tho you may not know it—but not in the presence of men; he gave expression to his heart's fancies (in this way) only because he did not see you (His longings were stirred by the rainy season, and his thots turned to his herd, and so he spoke as he did 'When shall it be my lot' &c) So there is no ground for your illness, Sir (, it is unreasonable)" (221) (And) when the king's son heard this, his (feverish) disease left him (and he became whole as before) (And) he led me away and (anointed me and had my body washt with plenty of water and set men to watch over me and) turned me loose in that same forest. (222) (And the men did just as he told them) Thus, tho I suffered captivity before, I have now been captured (again) by the power of Fate.

(End of Story 4)

(223) Now while they were conversing thus, Sluggish, his heart carried away by love for his friends, (followed their track, crushing down the reeds, thorns, and *kuśa*-grass as he

went, and very slowly) came up to the place where they were (224) (And) when they saw him (their hearts were profoundly alarmed, and) Goldy said (to him) (225) "Friend, you have done ill in (leaving your stronghold and) coming (You cannot protect yourself from the hunter) (226) (We, to be sure, can get away from him For) if the (villain of a) hunter approaches, Dapple-body, if his thong is cut, will (take to his heels and) run away Lightwing too will fly up in a tree, and I (being small of body) shall run into a hole But what can you do if you find yourself within his reach, Sir? " (227) Sluggish replied: "(Friend, say not so!)

Who could find endurable separation from his beloved and loss of his riches, were it not for association with his friends, which is like a mighty healing herb? 81

(The days, tho rarely met with, that are spent in association with cultured and beloved [friends], are like journey-money for one who has nothing left but the wilderness of life [to travel thru]. 82)

By telling one's sorrow to a devoted friend, to a virtuous wife, and to a sympathetic lord, the heart seems to find rest 83 (So, my friend)

A man's gaze seems to roam about full of longing, and his distrest mind strays to unknown regions, when he is sundered from a devotedly loving and virtuous friend" 84

(228) (Even) while he was speaking these words, that hunter arrived (229) As soon as he saw him, Goldy, having cut the thong, ran into a hole (as he had said he would) And Lightwing flew up (into the air) and was gone, while Dapple-body, too, ran swiftly away. (230) But the hunter, supposing that the thong had been cut by the deer, thot it a remarkable case of magic (, and said. "It must have taken Fate's help for a deer to cut a thong!") (231) (Then) seeing Sluggish crawling very slowly along the dry ground, he was somewhat comforted and said eagerly "Even if I have been robbed of the deer (thru its cutting the thong) with Fate's help, still Fate has provided (me with) a tortoise" (232) With these thots he (took some *kuśa*-grass, cutting it with a knife, and made a strong rope, and) drew up the tortoise's feet and bound him securely and hung him on his bow, and set out to return by the same

way he had come (233) Thereupon the deer, the mouse, and the crow, as they saw him carried off, ran after him (crying) in the greatest distress Goldy said

"Before I get to the end of one sorrow, as to the shore of an ocean, behold, another has come upon me! In hard times misfortunes come thick and fast 85

As long as a man has not stumbled, so long he proceeds comfortably on an even path But once let him stumble never so little, and there are stumbling-blocks at every step 86 (Woe is me!)

No sooner does Fate put an end to wealth, than the shade called a friend, which is a refreshment for one weary from the journey, is also ruined 87

(234) As for another friend—no, one like Sluggish could not be found! (Life itself depends on friends, they say)

Only by rare fortune can one acquire a friend who is a friend by his very nature, whose spontaneous friendship does not perish even in adversity 88

Men do not derive so much refreshment from mother, wife, brother, or son, as from a devoted friend 89

The wise declare that a friend increases life in this world It is in this world that a friend brings happiness; a friend does not pertain to the world beyond 90.

(235) Now why does Fate thus rain its blows so unceasingly upon me? (For) first, you know, I lost my money, because of my poverty I suffered the contempt of my followers, from despair begotten of that came exile from my native land and separation from a (beloved) friend, behold, this is my chain of misfortunes Moreover

The varying conditions of life, brought about by the continuous train of men's deeds, and successively good or bad at different times, appear, to be sure, in this [single] life, yet they seem to me as shifting as different reincarnations. 91

The body embodies disaster, fortune plays the tune of misfortunes, associations have their dissociations [13]; everything that is born dies. 92.

[13] The first three sentences of this stanza contain word-plays, which the translation attempts to imitate

What man is not toucht by calamities when his time comes? Or who that lives in this world is unceasingly happy? Fortune and misfortune come in natural revolution, like the circle of the constellations[14] revolving in the sky 93

Blows rain incessantly on a crippled man, when food is all gone the fire of the belly rages Enmities spring up in times of disaster, in hard times misfortunes come thick and fast 94

(236) Alas now, I am smitten with separation from my friend, what use is there in (trying to forget this, even with the aid of) my own people? And it is said

Who created this two-syllabled jewel called 'comrade,' which saves from grief, discontent, and danger, and is a vessel of love and trust?" 95

(237) After many such lamentations Goldy said to Dapple-body and Lightwing. "After all, what is the use of vain lamenting? Let us devise a means of freeing Sluggish before he is taken out of our range (of vision)" They both said "Let us do so" Said he. (238) "Let Dapple-body go in front of that hunter and fall down (in a place that is far away from him) near the water and make himself appear (as if) dead (239) And as for Lightwing here, let him settle upon his body, (fixing his feet between his branching antlers,) and peck at him with his beak and make it appear that he is picking out his eyes. (240) But that (fool of a) hunter (in his greediness) will be sure to think 'This deer is dead,' and will throw away the tortoise and run quickly to get the deer. (241) (Thereupon,) as soon as he is gone, I (for my part) will cut Sluggish's bonds And then, when his bonds are cut, he will quickly get into the lake (242) (But further,) when that wretch of a hunter gets near, then you must do your utmost to flee from him" (243) This plan was (precisely) carried out (by Dapple-body and Lightwing) And when the hunter saw on the shore the apparently dead deer being eaten by the crow, he was delighted, (and threw the tortoise down on the ground) and ran up to the deer. (244) Thereupon Goldy cut Sluggish's bonds in pieces, and the tortoise (speedily left that place and) entered the water (245) And the deer, seeing that the hunter was near by, got up and disappeared in a twinkling,

[14] The zodiac

along with the crow (246) Then the hunter (thot this was a piece of jugglery, and, wondering what it could mean, turned back. But) when he came to where the tortoise had been, (then he) saw the (binding) cord (, which was as thick as a finger,) cut (in pieces), and the tortoise himself vanisht like a magician So he began to have doubts of his own body And greatly perturbed at heart he rusht out of that wood with hurried footsteps, (ever looking around in all directions.) and returned dejectedly to his own house (247) Then all those four, free from troubles (and whole in body), came together again and went to their own place, and spent their time [thenceforth] in happiness (, dwelling in loving converse with one another) (Hence.)

When even beasts can form such an alliance as this, celebrated thruout the world, what wonder if the like is found among men, who are endowed with intelligence? 96

Here ends the Second Book, called the Winning of Friends

BOOK III

WAR AND PEACE, OR, THE CROWS AND THE OWLS

(1) Now here begins this, the third book, called (the Crows and the Owls, and dealing with) War and Peace, of which this is the opening stanza:

Put no trust in one whom you have formerly injured, nor in an enemy that has turned into a friend. Behold how the nest full of owls was burned with fire brought by the crows. 1

(2) The king's sons said: "(And) how was that?" Visnuśarman said:

(3) Once upon a time in a certain forest-region there was a large banyan-tree, which seemed to offer a welcome to travelers with the dense shade of its many leaves and bushy trunks. (4) There dwelt a crow-king named Cloud-color, with a following of a thousand crows. (5) (Not far from) there (also) dwelt an owl-king named Foe-crusher, with a following of a thousand owls. (6) (And) once he, moved by hatred due to (the natural) enmity [of crows and owls], (got knowledge of the crow-fortress from his owls, and) came by night with a (large) crowd of owls and fell upon this [crow-king] (with a violence like the power of Death). And he inflicted a terrible slaughter upon the crows, and departed. (7) And on the morning of the next day Cloud-color found those that had escaped the slaughter, many of them with broken beaks, wings, and legs; and (after ordering an inspection of the whole camp and receiving a report of it,) he opened a council-meeting of his ministers with these words. (8) "You see this great slaughter which has been wrought upon us by our enemy Foe-crusher. He has found the way to our stronghold and will surely find opportunity to come again tonight[1] to make an end of us. So

[1] Or possibly, with a variant reading, "by night."

let us lay plans without delay to keep him out" With these words they withdrew to a private place (9) Now he had five ministers who had inherited the office by (line of) succession, (their names were) Up-flier, Along-flier, Back-flier, Forth-flier, and Long-lived. (He began to question them one by one) (10) And first among them he askt Up-flier "(Sir,) under these circumstances what do you think we should do (next)?" (11) He replied "(Do I know anything of special value?) Sire I can only say what is said in the books of learning (But) when one is attackt by a stronger power, there is nothing to do but submit to him or leave the country" (12) Hearing this he said to Along-flier "(Sir,) what is your opinion?" Said he (13) "(Sire,) as for what he has said, (that one who is attackt by a stronger power must leave the country,)—now, one ought not to leave his stronghold of a sudden and without good cause Therefore, under these conditions we ought to spend the time pendulum-fashion[2], when danger threatens, we will withdraw, and when it is safe, we will stay right in our stronghold" (14) (Then) when he had noted his advice (also) he askt Forth-flier. "What is your opinion in this matter?" He replied (15) "(O king,) this business of constantly going back and forth would be fatal We should have to transport back and forth the poor, the blind, the cripples, the deformed, those with withered arms, the lame, the sick, and all our baggage, and this alone would be enuf to ruin us Wherefore, under these conditions peace is the only proper course for us (Because:)

If a weak king is attackt by a powerful king with a mighty host, let him hasten to make peace, for the welfare of his treasury, his army, and himself 2

(16) (So,) having made submission to them, we shall stay here (in peace and undisturbed)" (17) When he had noted his advice (also), he askt Back-flier "(Sir, under these conditions) what do you consider timely (for us)?" He replied: (18) "Better to dwell in the forest and use water defiled by the cuds chewed by deer, than to live in wretched dependence on an enemy, for one who has tasted the sweets of lordship. Moreover:

A man of power should not bow before one who is not his equal, to bow before one who is not an equal is a great evil.

[2] Literally, "like a swing"

This too ready submission is contemptible for men who are rich in prowess 3 (And again)

Just as in the case of sticks, a man's shadow is lengthened when he bends, and [yet] if he bend too much, it is completely destroyed, hence one should bend, but not bend overmuch 4

(19) And we have not so much as a common ground of meeting with them Without a common ground of meeting how can we make peace? Therefore war with them is by all means the best thing for us " (20) Then when Cloud-color had taken note of the opinions of all four (of these one by one), he said to Long-lived "Father, you are our (hereditary) minister of long[est] standing (and you are ever devoted to our welfare). What do you think timely now (that things are as they are)? (And whatever you say I know will be best for us)" (21) (At these words) Long-lived said "Sire, what is there (that I might say) that has not been said by these? (For in regard to war and peace, whether war or peace be proper in this case, both points of view have been already exprest) However, (in regard to what Back-flier said, that advice would be the ruin of our side. Sir,) how could there be an equal fight between them and us? It is clear that the fight would be unequal for us They are in all respects [more] powerful. Therefore it is not wise for us to fight with them And so·

Whosoever blindly rushes into action without taking account of his own strength and weakness and of his enemy's too, he is courting disaster 5

One should have respect for enemies, even those of little weight. For fruitless are the undertakings of those who act otherwise 6.

One should be watchful and distrustful of an enemy that is patient and wise, that attacks at the right season and that knows the strong and the weak points of himself and his adversary 7

To whomsoever Fortune yields herself, won by sound [political] methods, with him surely she abides undisturbed, since she is not dishonored by her marriage [to him]. 8.

An exalted foe, even at a distance, assuredly destroys the majesty [of a king], what can a mean spirited one accomplish even tho he be armed and close at hand? 9

Do not despise even one who is cowed, who has been sorely handled, who is in flight or has been deserted, nor even one who is disarmed or alone Thus say those who are skilled in polity 10

(The man whose enemy is conquered without trouble is the [true] victor Whosoever conquers only after fighting a doubtful battle that might have been won by either side, he is really defeated 11)

Success [of two kinds] is known by guile, and by mutual slaughter Success gained without strategy means one's own death [3] Think, which of the two [is preferable]? 12

For those who are haughty, malicious, greedy, lustful, false, puft up with arrogance, and easily angered, the methods of government are hard to grasp 13

But the same are maintained only by those who do not overstep the proper bounds, who are well-instructed, self-controlled, all-patient, skilled in the [political] ways and means, and not stupid 14.

(22) So warfare is by no means desirable, because feud with a superior, like fighting on foot with an elephant, leads to utter ruin " (23) Cloud-color said "(Father, say,) what is the final outcome?" He replied "(Sir,) consider this (It is said·)

Surely Fortune, which cannot be won even at the price of sacrificing one's life, runs without even a summons into the house of those who know good counsel 15

Whoever does not ask, one after the other, [the advice of] well-wishing friends who know the books of learning, in regard to various kinds of action, [comes to grief].[4] 16

He who takes consideration of place, forces, duty, political methods, and [his own] time of life, before he proceeds to action,—like rivers to the abundant ocean, good fortune streams into that excellent man 17

Counsellors must be heroes proved spotless by all trials, they must be wise and far-seeing, for kingship depends on good counsellors. 18

An ignorant man never becomes a vessel of good fortune, no, not tho he have drunk the glory of his foes in battle,—

[3] Or, "implies its own end," i. e does not continue.

[4] This stanza is fragmentary in the text, the latter half is missing.

battle wherein flew countless sparks of fire engendered by the clashing of elephants' tusks 19

(24) Therefore a following of excellent counsellors is by all means necessary for the complete success of him who desires to conquer And it is said

Fortune does not regard descent from an old family line as a mark of excellence, nor handsome appearance, nor yet acquisition [of knowledge[5]] Fickle tho she is, she cleaves to the man who is brave and attended by good counsellors, and to him alone 20

Is there any doubt of the success of him who makes the [six] forms of policy[6] his support? Let him commit himself to the practices of the noble, and prosperity will not be hard to gain 21

Do not proud men rush unhesitatingly to destruction for the sake of glory? And they will have nothing of a very eternity of life, if it be attended by disgrace 22.

Lift up your right foot [and step forth] unto victory! Why delay? For our teachers say that procrastination is the root of disasters 23

What profit is there in these vain parrot-chatterings, that are rejected as soon as heard[7]? [If] you are wise—abandon silence and speak forth what the time demands 24

For the wise declare that victory has its root in good counsel But the soul and the understanding are the abiding-place of good counsel. 25.

But it is well known that there are just six doors to counsel [thru which it may be betrayed], O king [Altho] you know them already, Sir, I will name them, O you of glorious name! 26.

One's self, a minister, and a messenger, a secret agent, the process of the three daily ablutions, and the expressions [of the face and gestures] they name as the sixth Such is the accepted opinion concerning counsel. 27

Hear however the fruit of counsel that is not communicated. One [thereby] gains complete worldly profit, without loss in religion or love[8] 28

[5] Or, perhaps, "[of property]"

[6] For these see Book I, § 188 (page 293)

[7] Or possibly, "that are rejected by inspired authority"

[8] On these three objects of human desire compare page 272, note 4

Now the threefold advantage of counsellors is this approval of decisions, removal of doubt, and his ever-present wisdom [9] 29

(25) (Therefore an effort must be made to keep every counsel confidential [10] Since)

Counsel falsely applied, like a ghoul improperly invoked,[11] is sure to destroy him who uses it before it can be stopt 30

Division of counsel among ministers leads to naught but destruction for one's own party and the exaltation of the enemy, it can never be profitable 31

He who apportions properly his income and outlay, whose agents are secret and whose counsel is private, and who speaks not unkindly to his ministers—he shall rule the earth to the edge of the ocean 32

(26) Therefore I say again. War is not desirable But peace also is an impossible thing for us, since we have a natural lasting feud [with the owls] (27) Now then if you really want my advice, send away these [ministers] that are clever in talk [alone], that live by nothing but a mere pretense of ministry When matters of pressing moment are on foot, secret counsel does not bear fruit if heard by six ears " (28) And when this had been done, Cloud-color said "Father, (I am young and inexperienst, I will do just as you say, for all of this is dependent on you) You are one whose advice is profitable, you have learning and the wisdom of experience, and you are my well-wisher by inheritance (But tell me something that I am curious to know) How (pray) did our feud with the owls begin?" (29) He replied "(Sir,) by a mistake of speech

For after long grazing on grass without interruption in the summer-time, the foolish ass that was covered with a panther's skin was killed because of the mistake of speech " 33

(30) Said the other· "And how was that?" Long-lived said:

[9] Hertel, "constant knowledge of him [the king]" This seems hardly to give sense, and I prefer to understand *tasya* as possessive and referring to the minister, in spite of a certain looseness or harshness in the change from plural to singular (which I keep in the translation)

[10] Text here corrupt and uncertain

[11] I differ from Hertel in understanding *duriṣṭa[ḥ]*, adj, rather than *duriṣṭe*, noun, "badly invoked" rather than "evil magic" The word translated "ghoul" is *vetāla*, the modern Hindi *baital*

STORY 1 ASS IN PANTHER'S SKIN

(31) A certain washerman had an ass who was worn out with the vexation of exceeding great burdens (in carrying clothes) (32) And the washerman, thinking to revive him, covered him with a panther's skin and turned him loose by night in grain that belonged to others (33) And he ate the grain as much as he pleased, and no one (approacht him or) drove him away (from the grain), because they thot him a panther (34) Now (once upon a time) a certain (husbandman, a) watchman of the grain, saw him, and thot "(That is) a panther! (I am lost!)" And he (bent over and) wrapt his body in his (gray) cloak, and, with uplifted bow in his hand began to slink away (very cautiously) (35) And seeing him (from a distance) the ass, whose frame had grown fat (and who had recovered his strength), took him for a she-ass, and (since his life was doomed to end) he (put on full speed and) started in pursuit (But the man ran faster than ever And the ass thot "Perhaps she may mistake me for what I am not, because she sees my body covered with the panther's skin So I will take on my true nature for her and charm her heart with a bray" So thinking) he began to bray (36) (And) hearing this the watchman of the grain knew (by the sound) that it was an ass, and (turned around and) killed him with an arrow

(End of Story 1)

(37) Therefore I say "For after long grazing" &c (38) "Thus our feud with the owls (also) began in a mistake of speech" (Cloud-color said· "How was that?" He told the story·)

STORY 2 BIRDS ELECT KING

(39) Once upon a time when they had no king all the birds assembled and considered whom they should consecrate king of the birds. And they decided that they would install the owl as king (40) And they collected all the things (required) for the coronation (according to prescribed rites), and set about the ceremony of the coronation with the parasol, chowrie, (fans, throne, royal seat, linen garments, [sacred vessels in the form of] mystic diagrams,) and the other [emblems of royalty] (41) At

this point a crow flew thru the air and alighted But when they saw him they halted the coronation [saying] "He also must without fail have a part in the assembly (, because this affair of royalty is of great importance for the entire world)" And when he arrived they askt him ("Sir, do you also agree to this, that the owl shall be king?") (42) (Then) he said "Why, are all the other birds annihilated, the swans, ducks, ruddy geese, curlews, peacocks, cuckoos, pigeons, pheasants and the rest, that this owl with his ungracious appearance is made king? Moreover

Crooked-nosed, squint-eyed, savage and unfriendly in look, when he is not angry his face is evil, what, pray, will he do when he is angry? 34.

Naturally savage and very cruel, mean and unpleasant in speech. if you crown this owl king, how can you hope for protection? 35.

(43) He inflames every thing he looks at,[12] and cannot be used [even] in a bluff And it is said

Even in a bluff may lie success, if a king is without power. By the bluff of the moon[13] the hares dwell in peace" 36

(44) The birds said· "(And) how was that?" The crow said:

STORY 3 ELEPHANT, HARES AND MOON

(45) Once upon a time there was a drought for twelve years (46) (And) by reason of this the pools, ponds, tanks, and lakes were dried up, and all the animals (were tormented with thirst and) fell into dire distress, but especially the elephants. (47) Now the king of the elephants, whose name was Four-tusks, was appealed to by the other elephants (48) "Sire, the young elephants are tormented with thirst, some of them are in a dying condition (and others are dead) So let some plan be devised for relieving our thirst" (49) Then the king of the herd sent swift runners in (all) eight directions to search for water (50) And one of them returned and said. "(Sire,) not far away there is a lake named Moonlake, full of (pure) water

[12] Literally, "he makes an inflammation (more exactly, a *digdāha*, preternatural redness of the horizon) of what is seen [by him]" Hertel completely misunderstands this sentence and the following stanza

[13] *I e*, by using the moon in a bluff

and as large as a quarter of the sky" (51) And (accordingly) the elephant-king took all of them in (great haste and) joy and arrived at the lake (52) And as they went down to the bank of the lake (which was difficult of access on all sides), they crusht the heads and necks of many hares which had been living on this bank (53) Now when this elephant-herd, after drinking and bathing, had departed, (54) the hares that were left alive began to take counsel Then the hare-king, whose name was Spike-snout, said "What is now to be done? (Our tribe is ruined) They have found the way and will surely come here again Therefore (before they get here) let us contrive some plan" (55) Then a hare named Victory, who had had much experience, said to them "This can be done, I promise you that they shall not come here again However, be so gracious as to furnish me merely with a witness to my actions" (56) Hearing this Spike-snout said (joyfully) "I am very sure of it, my dear sir! Since.

When Victory is sent forth, who knows the essence of the teachings of the books on political science, and who knows how to distinguish [right and wrong] places and times [for actions], then will success be complete 37

Whosoever speaks what is salutary, speaks in moderation, speaks in Sanskrit,[14] and speaks not overmuch, and whosoever speaks only after considering the facts, his speech, I say, is effective in all undertakings 38.

(57) The elephants will learn of my triple power[15] even tho I remain far away, when they perceive the greatness of your wit For:

By beholding a messenger or a letter from a king whom I have not seen, I can tell whether that king is wise or unwise 39.

For a messenger can cause union, and can also sunder those that are united A messenger performs the work by which men prosper 40

(58) And if you go it is the same as if I myself went Because.

You may speak what is appropriate and fitting, and what you consider good, you may say what you will, all of it shall be the same as my own word 41.

[14] The literary and learned language, as distinguisht from popular dialects.

[15] See page 298, note 23

(This is the whole duty of a messenger words that are suited to the object in hand, and no more He should know how to express briefly his purpose, so as to produce the desired effect" 42)

(59) After these words the hare Victory took leave of the hare-king and went to visit the elephant-king (60) And when he had gone and beheld the elephant-king, he thot (61) "It is impossible for such as me, with my small body, to meet him Since they say

An elephant slays with a mere touch, a snake merely by smelling, a king with a mere laugh, an evil man even in extending courtesies. 43.

(62) Therefore I will climb the mountain-peak before I salute the elephant-king" After doing so he said. (63) "(Ho there!) Peace be with you!" (And hearing this) the elephant-king (lookt around and) said (to the hare) "Who are you, and whence come you, Sir?" Said he (64) "I am a messenger sent forth by the Lord Moon" The king of the herd said "Declare your business" The hare said "You know, Sir, of course, that it is not right to find fault with a messenger who is truthfully stating his message (For each and every king uses a messenger as his mouthpiece And it is said)

Even when there has been a resort to arms, a messenger speaks not falsely Since they say only what they have been told to say, a king must not kill them. 44

(65) Now by the Moon's command I say '(How is it that you venture to inflict injury on others without taking account of the difference between yourself and your adversary? And it is said:)

Whosoever blindly rushes into action without taking account of his own strength and weakness and of his enemy's too, he is courting disaster 45

(66) Now you have (unjustly) violated the Moon-lake, (which is distinguisht by my name,) (67) and have killed there the hares who are under my protection. And this is not right. Now I owe to them my own personal support (68) Because I wear them on my breast, for that very reason I am known (among men) by the name of the Hare-markt[16] (69) If now

[16] The Hindus discern the picture of a hare, instead of a man, in the moon

you do not cease from this (unlawful) conduct, then (you will suffer great harm thru me If you cease you will get great profit, your body shall be refresht by my rays [17] Otherwise) I shall withhold my rays, and your body shall be scorcht with heat, and you shall (straightway) perish (along with your followers)'" (70) After this speech (of the messenger) the elephant-king's heart was moved (with exceeding great fear), and he said (to him) (71) "(Friend,) this is true, I have offended (thru ignorance), now I will not commit any hostile act against the Moon" (72) Said the other "His Majesty is right here in this very lake, so come, Sir, (all alone,) that I may show him to you, and when you have paid homage to our Lord (and pacified him) you may depart" (73) So speaking he took the elephant by night to the Moon-lake and showed him in the water the image of (the full disc of) the moon (74) But he (, the elephant-king,) thot "I will (completely purify myself and then) pay homage to the god," and he put his trunk into the water (to a distance of twice the length of a man's arm) (75) Then the moon's disc, stirring in the troubled water, moved this way and that (as if fixt on a wheel, so that the elephant saw a thousand moons) (76) (Then Victory, pretending that his heart was greatly alarmed, turned around and said "Alas, alas! You have made the Moon twice as angry as before!") (77) Said he "Why is the revered Moon angry with me?" Victory said "Because you toucht his water" (78) Thereupon, when he heard this, the elephant (with his tail between his legs withdrew his trunk and fell on his knees and) bowed his head down to the ground and said to the (revered) Moon with an obeisance (79) "O god, (it was thru ignorance that I did this,) forgive me! (And) I will not come back here again" (80) So saying (without even looking around) he went away (by the way he had come, and never came back again)

(End of Story 3)

(81) Therefore I say "Even in a bluff may lie success" &c (82) "Moreover, this evil-minded fellow (, the owl,) is mean and could not protect his subjects And it is said.

[17] The Hindus suppose that the moon's rays have a positively and definitely cooling and refreshing effect on whatever they touch.

In applying to a mean king [as judge]. how can two litigants get off well? Both of them are doomed to destruction, like the hare and the partridge" 46

(83) The birds said "(And) how was that?" Said he

STORY 4 CAT, PARTRIDGE, AND HARE

(84) Once long ago I was dwelling in a certain tree (85) In a hole under the (same) tree dwelt a bird called a partridge (86) Now as a result of our dwelling together a (close) friendship (with one another) sprang up between us, and every day at early evening (after we had eaten and taken our recreation outside) we would spend the time in pleasant conversation with questions on both sides (87) Then one time the partridge failed to arrive (even at even-tide), at the time when we were wont to converse (88) For this reason I was much perturbed at heart, and I wondered: "Can he have been killed or caught, or has he taken a liking to another dwelling-place (, that he does not come)?" While I was pondering on this many days past (89) (And) after this a hare named Long-ears came and settled in the hole in which he had lived (90) And when I saw him I reflected "That friend of mine is not, what concern have I with the dwelling?" (91) When he had remained there some time, the partridge came back (to the same place) (92) When he found the hare in his hole, he said: "(See here,) this is my place, so depart (from it quickly)" (93) He said (to him) "Fool, (do you not know that) a dwelling (and food) are to be enjoyed by whoever is at hand?" (94) The partridge said· "There are witnesses[18] available here, let us ask them (, since that is what the case demands. And it is said in the lawbooks):

Concerning tanks, pools, and ponds, concerning a house and a dwelling, the testimony of neighbors is decisive, thus Manu[19] has declared." 47.

(95) "So be it," agreed the other, and they set out to have the question decided at law. (96) I also followed close behind them, being curious (to see what the outcome would be). (97) When

r, "umpires."

[19] Manu is the Hindu Adam, eponymous progenitor of the human race, but in later times he is principally renowned as reputed author of the most famous Hindu lawbook.

they had not gone very far (from there) the partridge said (to the hare) "(But) who will hear our law-suit?" (98) The hare said. "(Why, here is) this aged cat named Curd-ears, who lives on the bank of the river, devoted to penance, and who shows compassion to all living creatures. he knows the law he will make a lawful decision for us" (99) (And hearing this) the partridge said "Away with that mean creature! (And it is said)

(Do not trust one who covers himself with the mask of a devotee Many devotees are seen at the holy pilgrimage-places who lack not throats and teeth!" 48)

(100) And hearing this (the cat) Curd-ears, (who had assumed a false aspect in order to make his living by easy means,) that he might win their confidence, stood up on two legs and gazed (steadfastly) towards the sun, and with outstretcht arms, closing one eye [only], engaged in prayer (101) (And) as he prayed their hearts trusted in him, and they crept up towards him and made known their dispute about the dwelling [saying]: "O holy devotee, teacher of the law, we two have a dispute, so decide it for us according to the law-codes!" (102) And he said. "I am old and my senses are dulled, so that I cannot hear very well from a distance Come quite close and speak loud." Then they came nearer and told their story (103) Then he, (Curd-ears,) winning their confidence so as to make them come closer, recited texts from the lawbooks

"When righteousness is destroyed, it destroys in turn; when righteousness is preserved, it preserves. Therefore we must not destroy righteousness, lest it, being destroyed, destroy us. 49

Righteousness is our only friend that follows us even in death, for all else goes to destruction together with the body 50

In blind darkness are we sunk who offer sacrifices with beasts A higher religious duty than harmlessness has never been nor shall be 51

Whosoever regards other men's wives like a mother, other men's possessions like clods of earth, and all creatures like himself—he has true vision." 52.

(104) (So, to make a long story short,) by his hypocrisy he won their confidence to such an extent that they came up to

him quite close, and then with one stroke they were (both) caught and killed (by that mean creature)

(End of Story 4)

(105) Therefore I say "In applying to a mean king [as judge]" &c (106) "So this owl (, being a mean creature,) is in no way worthy of the kingship" (107) (But) when they heard this (speech of his) they thot. "He has spoken well" And they said "We will hold a meeting some other time and consider this important matter of the kingship" So saying all the birds disperst as they had come (108) (But the owl was left all alone, waiting for the coronation upon the seat of state And he askt· "Who was it that made this speech to my hurt?" And having learned that it was a crow,) the owl's mind was inflamed by what the crow had said, and he said to him (109) "What injury have I ever done to you, that you interfered with my coronation?

What is pierst by an arrow grows together, wood that is cut with an ax likewise, and even that which is burnt by a forest fire, [but] a wound made by words does not grow together 53

(110) (In short,) now from this day forth there shall be enmity between us and you" (111) So speaking the owl, in dudgeon, departed (to the place whence he had come). (112) But that crow reflected (, full of concern): "What an evil thing I have done now, in a matter that concerns the common weal! (It is well said)

Whosoever speaks without good reason a word that is not appropriate to the time and the place, that is not fitted to future events, that is unfriendly and degrading to the speaker—that shall not be [regarded as] a word, it shall be [regarded as] nothing but poison 54

Surely a wise man, even if he be strong, should not deliberately make another his enemy For who that is in his right mind would eat poison without any purpose, merely because he knows that a physician is at hand? 55

(113) So this has befallen me because of my stupidity And whatever is done without first talking it over with well-wishing friends is sure to come out so And it is said

After faithful friends have more than once considered it, and after he himself has repeatedly examined its bearings, then

only should a man proceed to any action. if he is wise Such a man and no other is a vessel of fortune and renown" 56

(114) After speaking thus the crow also departed (from that place)

(End of Story 2)

(115) "So thus it was, Sire, that our feud with the owls arose as a result of a speech" (116) Cloud-color said "I have understood this [story] Now, father, take thot and contrive some plan before they come back here to make an attack upon us" (117) Said he "My lord, of the six political methods,[20] (namely, peace, war, waiting policy, march, alliance, and double-dealing,) peace and war have already been referred to (118) But at present we have no opportunity for a waiting-policy, march, alliance, or double-dealing Because waiting-policy, in the face of a more powerful enemy, leads to the destruction of one's citadel (and oneself), and march (evidently) means the abandonment of one's citadel; and with what powerful ally could we ally ourselves? and to whom could we apply the policy of double-dealing? (119) Now under these circumstances there is no chance for us to apply the four devices of conciliation, bribery, dissension, and violence [21] There is [however] a fifth device, namely deceit, (not) found in the authorities This I approve, and I shall resort even to this in order to conquer (and humiliate) the enemy. And it is said.

Many powerless adversaries, opening hostilities, can succeed in tricking [their enemy] by their wits, as happened to the brahman in the case of the goat" 57.

(120) Said he· "And how was that?" Long-lived said

STORY 5 BRAHMAN AND ROGUES

(121) Once a brahman who had got a goat from another village to make an animal-sacrifice was going to his own home with the goat on his shoulder, (122) when he was seen on the way by [some] rogues They thot "Let us get the goat away from this brahman!" (123) So they came to a decision, and they (divided themselves into groups of one, two, and three, and)

[20] Compare Book I, § 188, *et passim*

[21] Compare Book I, vss 133 and 134

came in the opposite direction along the road before him. (124) But the first one of them said to the brahman: "Why are you carrying this dog on your shoulder? (Or is it because he is good at killing animals?)" (So saying he departed.) (125) The brahman thot: "What does this villain mean? The idea of my carrying a dog on my shoulder!" (126) As soon as the next two (rogues) met him, they also said to the brahman: "Brahman, what is this unseemly thing that you are doing? The sacred cord, (the rosary, the holy water-pot, and the sect-mark on your forehead,) and a dog on your shoulder (—it does not fit at all)! But no doubt it must be a clever dog at killing hares, deer, and boars." (So saying they went past.) (127) But the brahman (in wonderment) put the goat on the ground, and felt of the parts of its body all over, (its ears, horns, privy parts, tail, and other members, and thot: "They are fools; how can they imagine that this is a dog?") and put it on his shoulder again and went on. (128) After this the other three said to the brahman: "Touch us not! (Go to one side of us!) For you are pure in outward appearance alone, brahman, you are handling a dog, and so you must surely be a hunter![22]" (So saying they departed.) (129) Then that brahman thot: "Can I have taken leave of my senses? And yet the majority must be right. Unnatural things are indeed found to occur in the world; perhaps this is an ogre that has taken the form of a dog. (After all an ogre would be capable of assuming a dog's form.)" (130) So thinking he turned the goat loose, and bathed[23], and went home. (131) And the rogues took the goat and ate it.

(End of Story 5)

(132) Therefore I say: "Many powerless" &c. (133) "Therefore, (Sire,) I have something to suggest; (think well on it and) do just as I tell you." (Said he: "Father, what is it?" Long-lived said: "Sire,) (134) You must pluck out my feathers, and revile me with very harsh words, and smear me with blood taken (from those who have been slain already), and throw me down under this same (banyan-)tree, and go to Mount Ṛsyamūka,

[22] In India hunters constitute one of the lowest and most despised of castes, compare Book II, §§ 6 ff.

[23] To purify himself from the touch of a dog, a very impure animal.

and stay there with your followers, (135) until I (by means prescribed in the books of learning) start them all on the road to destruction,[24] and having accomplisht my purpose come (again into your presence And you must show no mercy to me)" (136) After this had been done, at sunset (that) Foe-crusher flew up upon that (same) banyan-tree with his (retinue of) warriors (137) And he could not find a single crow there (And alighting on the top of the tree he thot "Where can those enemies have gone?") (138) (Then) Long-lived, lying on the ground (unseen by them), reflected as follows "If these foes depart without so much as discovering what has happened, then what have I accomplisht? (And it is said)

The first mark of intelligence, to be sure, is not to start things, the second mark of intelligence is to pursue to the end what you have started 58

(139) (Therefore it is better not to begin anything than to drop what you have begun. So I will reveal myself to them by letting them hear my voice)" (140) With this thot Long-lived made a very feeble cry (141) The owls who were near-by heard it, and realized that it was a crow's cry, and reported it to their lord (142) And hearing this, Foe-crusher, full of curiosity, came down and (made sure of the facts and) said to his ministers "Ask him who he is." (143) Thereupon he said "I am Long-lived" (144) Hearing this the owl-king was astonisht and said "This is the well-beloved chief-minister of that crow-king How did he get to such a condition?" (145) (Being questioned about this) he said (to him): "(My lord, listen!) After you had inflicted (something of) a massacre [upon the crows] and had gone away, Cloud-color (lookt upon his warriors that had escaped the slaughter, and was deeply distrest, and he) (146) took counsel with his ministers To make a long story short, they were for undertaking your destruction (147) (Then) I said: 'They are strong, and we are helpless, hence (by all means) the best thing (for us) is simply to submit (to them). (And it is said:)

A powerless person, if he seeks his own welfare, should not even think of carrying on a feud with a more powerful enemy

[24] Literally, "make their faces turned towards the south [the region of Yama, god of death]"

If he acts like the reed [that bends before the storm], he is not deprived of his possessions, if he acts like the moth [that flies into the flame], complete destruction awaits him' 59

(148) Then the crows said that I was taking sides with the enemy, and without a moment's consideration they brought me to the state in which you find me" (149) (And) when Foe-crusher heard this, he took counsel with his (hereditary) ministers, Red-eye, Cruel-eye, Flame-eye, Crooked-nose, and Wall-ear (150) First among them he askt Red-eye. "(Sir, under these circumstances) what is to be done?" (151) Said he "What need for thinking it over? He should be killed without hesitation For

A feeble enemy should be destroyed, before he has a chance to become strong Afterwards, when he has gained strength and prowess, it may be hard to subdue him 60

(152) Moreover, it is a well-known saying that if Fortune comes to you unsought and is rejected, she curses you (And it is said)

Since opportunity comes only once to a man who is looking for opportunity, it is hard to find the opportunity again when he wishes to do the deed 61

(153) So by killing him, (your enemy,) you will make your kingdom free from thorns" (154) Having heard this (word of his) he askt Cruel-eye "(Sir, but) what do you think?" Said he. "(Sire,) he must not be killed (since he is a fugitive Because)

Cowardly and merciless men, who in this life strike down fugitives that are buffeted by many blows and that make piteous appeals to them, are doomed to Rāurava and the other [hells] 62

(By protecting a terrified fugitive who takes refuge with him, a man gets more merit than by performing the Horse-sacrifice[25] complete with all its excellent accompaniments" 63)

(155) Having heard this (also) he askt Flame-eye· "(Sir,) what do you think?" Said he: "(Sire,) it is most certain that a fugitive (even tho an enemy) must not be killed.

[25] The most elaborate and costly, and so the most meritorious, of the Vedic sacrifices.

For it is related that a dove entertained in due fashion its enemy who applied to it for refuge, and even invited him to feast on its own flesh [26] 64

'She who is ever wont to shrink from me, now embraces me! My benefactor, blessings upon you! Take away all that I have!' 65

(156) (But) the thief said

'I see nothing that I would take from you If there should be something to take, I will come back again, if she should not embrace you'" 66

(157) Foe-crusher said "(And) how was that?" Said he·

STORY 6· OLD MAN, YOUNG WIFE, AND THIEF

(158) Once there was a certain merchant who was more than eighty years old, but who by the attraction of his money succeeded in marrying a young wife (159) (But) she, being (in the bloom of her youth and) united to an old man, felt that her youth was wasted, and tho she lay on the bed beside him every night, turned her slender body away, ([motionless] as a painted picture,) and was completely wretched (160) (Now) one night a thief, a robber of (other men's) goods, came into his house. (161) (And) she saw him and was frightened, and turned around, and threw her arms about her husband and held him close. (162) And when this happened his whole body was thrilled with love and joy, and thinking "Why has this wonderful thing happened to me, that surpasses imagination?" he lookt all around, and caught sight of the thief, (and he reflected again· "Of course it is thru fear of him that she embraces me!" Realizing this,) (163) he said (to him) "(My friend,) she who is ever wont to shrink from me" &c (164) But the thief said to him (friendly-wise). 'I see nothing that I would take from you" &c

(End of Story 6)

(165) So (in this case) favorable consideration was shown even to a thief, a robber of other men's goods and an evil-doer

[26] This stanza alludes to a story of a self-sacrificing dove which entertained, in the manner described, a bird-hunter The tale is told, in a versified form, in one comparatively late version of the Pañcatantra at this place

(How much more to one who comes as a fugitive!) (166) Besides, (since he has been injured by them,) he will help in *our* success (and work to their destruction, or he may reveal their weak points) So he must not be killed " (167) Hearing this Foe-crusher askt (his next minister) Crooked-nose "(Sir,) what should be done (in the present case)?" Said he "(Sire,) he must not be killed For.

Even enemies may be useful when they fall out with each other The thief saved [the brahman's] life, while the ogre [saved] his two cows" 67

(168) The king said "And how was that?" He told this story

STORY 7 BRAHMAN, THIEF, AND OGRE

(169) Once a certain (poor) brahman received a present of a pair of cows, which (had been brought up from young calves by feeding with ghee, oil, salt, grass, and [other] wholesome foods, so that they) were very fat (170) And a certain thief saw them, and he thot (as follows) ' (This very day) I shall steal them" (171) So he started out in the early evening, (172) and as he went along some (unknown) person toucht him (on the shoulder) (173) Whereupon he askt (in alarm). "Who are you?" (174) (And) he spoke (truthfully) "I am a (night-roaming) brahman-ogre[27] (175) You (also) tell me who you are" (176) Said he "I am a thief" (And when the other askt again "Where are you going?" he said) "I intend to steal a pair of cows from a (certain) brahman (But where are you going?)" (177) (Then being reassured by this information) the (brahman-)ogre (also) said "I too have started out to seize that same brahman." (178) Then they went thither (both together) and stayed (at one side, waiting for the proper time) (179) And when the brahman had gone to sleep the brahman-ogre was creeping up to seize him (first), (180) when the thief said to him "(This is not the right way) After I have stolen his two cows, then you may seize him," (181) Said the other· "(That too would be wrong.) Perchance the noise (of the cows) might wake him, and then I should have come in vain"

[27] A brahman (in a previous existence) changed, because of sinful actions, into an ogre Ogres (*rākṣasas*) are monsters who live on the flesh of men

(182) The thief said "When you seize him he may arise and make an outcry (Then all the rest [of the people] will be roused, and if that happens) then I should be unable to steal his two cows (So I will steal the cows first, and afterwards you may eat the brahman)" (183) As they were thus disputing with one another (they got angry, and with their rivalry) they woke up the brahman (simultaneously). (184) (Thereupon) the thief said. "(Brahman,) this brahman-ogre wants to seize you" (185) (But) the (brahman-)ogre said "This thief wants to steal your two cows." (186) Hearing this the brahman got up and (being put on his guard) saved himself from the ogre by reciting the *mantra*[28] (of his sect's deity), and saved his two cows from the thief by brandishing his cudgel (187) (So both) the thief and the ogre departed

(End of Story 7)

(188) Therefore I say. "Even enemies may be useful" &c (189) "(Moreover)

It is also related, you know, that the noble and virtuous Śibi gave his own flesh to the falcon to save the dove [29] 68

(190) Therefore you (also) ought not to slay a fugitive" (191) Thereupon he askt Wall-ear And he too gave the same advice (192) Then Red-eye (arose, and smiling ironically to himself) said again "(Alas!) Our lord here is ruined by you with your bad policy. And it is said·

Even when an injury is done him before his very eyes, a fool is satisfied by fair words The carpenter carried his own wife with her lover on his head" 69

(193) They said. "(And) how was that?" He replied:

STORY 8 CUCKOLD CARPENTER

(194) In a certain town there was a carpenter, (195) whose beloved wife was unchaste, as he had been warned by his friends and kinsmen. (196) So to ascertain the truth he said to her: "My dear, there is a king's hall to be built in a far-away village, and I must go there (tomorrow). I shall spend a number

[28] Sacred stanza

[29] This stanza alludes to a well-known story of a self-sacrificing king named Śibi The story is inserted secondarily at this point in one version

of days there So make ready some provisions such as are needful for my journey " (197) And she right gladly made ready the provisions as he bade her (198) (And when she had done so, he took his tools and his provisions for the journey and) while it was still night (, during the last watch,) he said to her: "I am going, my dear, lock the door!" (199) But the carpenter returned without her knowledge, and entered his house (by the back door), and placed himself with his apprentice under his (own) bed (200) She however was overjoyed at the thot that she could meet her lover this day without any hindrance, and she caused her lover to be summoned by her go-between, and they began to eat and drink and so forth without fear in that very house. (201) And before they satisfied their lust, it happened that in moving her feet she toucht the carpenter on the knee (202) At this she thot "Without doubt that must be the carpenter! Now what can I do?" (203) (And) at that moment her lover (adjured her and) said "(Dear, tell me,) which do you love more, me or your husband?" (204) Whereupon that quick-witted woman said: (205) "What a question to ask! We women of course are light in our morals and do all manner of things; (206) (in short,) if we had not noses, we should undoubtedly be willing to eat dung, (that tells the whole story in a nutshell) (207) [But] if I should hear of any harm, (even the slightest,) to my husband, I should (straightway) give up the ghost." (208) Then the carpenter's heart was deceived by the lying words of that shameless woman, and he said to his apprentice. (209) "Long live my beloved and supremely devoted wife! I will honor her in the eyes of all people!" (210) So saying he lifted her with her lover, as they lay in bed, on his head, and ran with them along the king's highway (and the other streets), and all the people laught at him

(End of Story 8)

(211) Therefore I say. "Even when an injury is done him before his very eyes" &c (212) "So we are surely destroyed (root and branch This certainly is a true saying):

(Ministers in outward guise, but really foes, the wise should hold those who depart from salutary policy and practise the the reverse of it 70)

(Even the noble are assuredly destroyed, like darkness at sunrise, if they are forgetful of [the proper] place and time [for actions], because of having a foolish minister" 71)

(213) But even then [the owl-king] paid no heed to his words, but lifted up Long-lived and started to take him to his own citadel (214) At this point Long-lived said (in order to win his confidence) "Sire, (why take me along, since in this condition I am good for nothing?) What use have I for life in my present plight? Therefore cause fire to be furnisht me, and I will throw myself into it" (215) Red-eye (however,) who understood his secret purpose, (indicated by his expression of countenance,) said "Why do you wish to throw yourself into fire?" (216) Said he "(Why,) I have been reduced to this plight on your account hence I wish to obtain rebirth as an owl, by virtue of sacrificing my body[30] in the fire, that I may pay back the grudge I owe the crows" (217) Red-eye said·

"This speech of yours is like wine mixt with poison, in that its inner nature is concealed; its primary character is delightful, but what will come out of it is not easy to guess therefrom[31] 72.

(218) Villain, for you to be reborn as an owl is impossible (and unthinkable) Because·

Renouncing the sun as husband, and the rain and the wind and the mountain, the mouse-maiden returned to her own nature. For nature is hard to overcome" 73

(219) He said: "(And) how was that?" Red-eye said:

STORY 9 MOUSE-MAIDEN

(220) Once (in) a certain (country a) sage was about to rinse his mouth (after his bath) in the Ganges, (221) when a (young) mouse dropt from the mouth of a falcon and fell into his hand (222) (Perceiving it) he placed it in a leaf (of a banyan-tree,

[30] It is a common belief in India that one who has acquired sufficient religious merit, and especially one who gives up his life as an act of devotion, can obtain rebirth in any state he desires.

[31] This verse is difficult, and in part textually corrupt. It seems to me that the words *prakṛti* and *vikāra* are used with allusion to their technical use in the Sāmkhya philosophy, *prakṛti* is the primary creative power of nature, *vikāra* the elements that evolve out of it The "evolvents" of the crow's speech are here said to be "not recognizable" from its delightful 'primary nature"

and bathed once more and rinst his mouth and performed the rites of expiation and the like,[32]) and set out for home. (223) And remembering the mouse he thot "It was a cruel thing that I did in abandoning the little mouse that has lost its father and mother (This was sinful of me, because I am now her guardian)" (224) So thinking he (returned and) by the power of his penance changed the mouse into a maiden, (225) and took her home and gave her to his wife, (who was childless,) saying (226) "(My dear,) here is a daughter for you, (take her and) bring her up carefully" From that time on she brought her up and cherisht her fondly (227) Now when in the course of time she had reacht the age of twelve, the sage began to think about her marriage. "It is wrong to let her time [of puberty] pass by; for this would be a sin on my part (And it is said)

But if a maiden beholds her flux in her father's house, unmarried, that maiden is unmarriageable, her parents are considered to be *śūdras*[33] 74.

(228) Therefore I will give her to a (powerful) husband worthy of herself (And it is said)

Only between two persons who are well-matcht in means and in blood should there be marriage or friendship, but not between the high and the low" 75.

(229) With this thot he summoned the venerable Thousand-rayed [Sun], and said (230) "You are powerful, marry this my daughter!" (231) But that venerable god, (the World-protector,) who sees all things (immediately), replied (to him): (232) "(Reverend sir,) the clouds are more powerful than I; they cover me so that I become invisible" (233) The sage (said "That is true!" and) summoning a cloud (he) said· "Take my daughter!" (234) But he said "The wind is stronger even than I It blows me hither and thither in all directions." (235) Then he summoned the wind (also) and said "Take my daughter!" (236) (Thus addrest) the wind said "(Reverend sir,) the mountains are more powerful than I, since I cannot move them (so much as a finger's breadth)" (237) Then he summoned a mountain and said "Take my daughter!" (238)

[32] All this was necessary as purification after touching the mouse.

[33] Members of the lowest caste

He replied· "(We are indeed 'immovable,'[34] but) the mice are stronger than we, they make us full of countless holes (on all sides)" (239) At these words the sage summoned a mouse and said "Take my daughter!" (240) Thereupon he said "(This is out of the question.) How can she enter into my hole?" (241) At which he said "Very true!", and by the power of his penance turned the girl into a mouse again and gave her to the mouse

(End of Story 9)

(242) Therefore I say "Renouncing the sun as husband" &c (243) Now [the owl-king] paid no heed to the words of Red-eye, but took Long-lived and went to his own stronghold (, to the ruin of his tribe) (244) And as Long-lived was being taken thither he reflected (smiling to himself)

"The one who said that I should be killed, speaking to his lord's profit, he is the only one of the ministers here that knows the true science of polity 76.

(245) If they had but been willing to listen to him, my hopes would have been disappointed" (246) (Now when they reacht the entrance of the stronghold) Foe-crusher said (to his ministers) "Let Long-lived be granted any place he wishes to live in" (247) But Long-lived fixt his residence at the entrance of the stronghold (, thinking that when the time came he would easily escape) (248) And every day the owls went forth as they pleased on expeditions of plunder, and (when they had eaten) they brought abundant meat at the command of their king and gave it to Long-lived. (249) (But that same Red-eye summoned his kinsmen and said "I perceive that we shall very soon be destroyed because of this crow. Therefore it is not wise for us to remain in the same place with these fools Let us accordingly seek another mountain cave and dwell there in peace" So saying Red-eye with all his followers departed to another place) (250) Then that (crow) Long-lived in a short time regained his strength and his plumage, and his body became handsome as a peacock And (when he had learned all about the enemy—his strength and prowess, his stronghold and abiding-place, his weak-points and ways of approach,) he reflected as follows:

[34] The word "immovable" also means "mountain" in Sanskrit

"I have spied out their strength and power, and their stronghold too, all about it Now without delay I must bring about the destruction of our foes" 77

(251) With these thots, in order to massacre the owls, he filled the holes at the entrance of their stronghold with rubbish and set out in haste to Cloud-color (252) And when Cloud-color had embraced him eagerly and askt him what had happened, (253) he said "(My lord,) this is no time for telling my adventures (Time is passing swiftly by) (254) (Therefore) do you take each one a stick of wood and go, (255) and I will come and bring fire (256) And let us (go with all speed and) burn the (enemies') home with all (the enemies) in it" (257) Even so they did, and they put kindling-wood and the like into the holes that were filled with rubbish and set fire to them. And straightway all their enemies were destroyed root and branch at one stroke (258) And having burned the lair (as far as the [under-]world of serpents, and having succeeded in his full desire,) Long-lived reestablisht Cloud-color as king, with all his powers,[35] in that same banyan tree (, to the sound of music denoting felicity, well-being and success). (259) Hereupon Cloud-color (, seeing that his enemies were overthrown,) bestowed (all manner of) honors upon Long-lived and in great joy spoke to him (thus): "Father, how did you spend your time while you were in the midst of the enemies?

Nay, it is better for those whose deeds are righteous to throw themselves into flaming fire, than to endure even for a moment association with an enemy" 78

(260) Said he. "(Sir,)

When danger threatens, a wise mind must follow any way whatever, be it great or humble, which may lead to safety Did not the Diadem-crowned [Arjuna], woman-fashion, adorn with bracelets his arms like elephant's trunks, that could wield mighty weapons and were markt with the bruises of the bow-string?[36] 79

[35] "Powers;" the Sanskrit word is *prakṛti*, often meaning "[a king's] ministers," but here probably used in the wider sense found in Book I, § 184, which see (with note)

[36] In this and the following vss reference is made to the various humiliations suffered by the five Pāṇḍava brothers, the chief heroes of the Mahābhārata, and their wife Drāupadī Vss 79 and 81 refer to Arjuna, 80 to Bhīma, 82 to Yudhiṣṭhira, 83 to Nakula and Sahadeva, 84 to Drāupadī.

A wise man, even if he be powerful, must ever be willing to bide his time, and even to dwell with mean and evil folk, as hard to endure as a thunder-bolt Did not the all-powerful Bhīma in the house of the Matsya[-king] rub hands with cooks, and were not his hands stained with smoke and wearied with the toil of handling cooking-spoons? 80

Whatsoever action presents itself, be it pleasant or hateful, an intelligent man, biding his time, should put his heart into it and do it, when he has fallen upon adversity Did not the Left-handed [Arjuna] wear a [woman's] jingling girdle, donned in sport, tho his arms had been [at other times] busy with the clanging strokes of the broad, tremulous bow-string of Gāṇḍīva [Arjuna's bow]? 81

A wise man who desires success, even tho he be full of courage and prowess, should put aside his dignity and stand carefully watching his step in the situations ordained by fate The illustrious son of Dharma [Yudhiṣṭhira] was served with respect by his brothers who were like [Indra] the king of the gods, [Kūbera] the god of wealth, and [Yama] the god of death, yet did he not for a long time carry in his distress the [brahman's] triple staff? 82

The two sons of Mādrī [Nakula and Sahadeva] possest beauty and nobility, and were endowed with the highest qualities, yet they entered into the service of Virāta as herds of his kine and horses 83.

Drāupadī was blest with unexcelled beauty, with the fine qualities of youth, and with birth in a noble family, she was like [the goddess of] Fortune herself Yet by the power of Fate the lapse of time brought her to the point, you know, of pounding sandalwood-paste for a long period in the palace of the Matsya king, under the haughty and insolent orders of girls who called her 'serving-maid'" 84.

(261) Cloud-color said "Like the task of [standing on] the blade of a sword (I ween) is association with an enemy" Said he "(Sire,) that is true. (And yet)

When a wise man finds himself shorn of power, he bears it without betraying his feelings, acting like a friend, biding his time, and covering his weakness with [pretended] affection 85

(262) (Now to put it briefly,) never before have I seen such a collection of fools, except Red-eye alone. But he understood quite correctly what was in my heart The others however were ministers in name alone. What use had they, who did not know this?—

A servant that has come over from the enemy, and that is eager to dwell with his [former] foes, is spoiled for use by the constant uneasiness [which he causes], for it is like living with a serpent 86

Dangerous even to a much later time is a failing that can cause total destruction, it is like the malady that comes to the silk-cotton tree from the dove that has eaten the seeds of the fig or banyan tree.[37] 87

Foes find occasion to strike at their foes—if they are not careful in regard to things both seen and unseen—when they are sitting or lying down or on the march, or when occupied with eating and drinking 88

Therefore a wise man must carefully guard himself, as the abiding-place of the 'group of three'[38] For carelessness brings destruction. 89. (And this has been well said.)

Being ill-advised, who can escape faults of policy? Eating unwholesome food, who is not tormented by diseases? Who is not made insolent by good fortune? Who can escape the blow f death? Who is not afflicted by sensuality due to women? 90.

An arrogant[39] man loses his renown, a dishonest man, his riend, one that ignores the holy rites, his family, a man that s too eager for worldly success, his religion, a vicious man oses the fruits of learning, a miser loses happiness, and a king whose ministers are careless loses his kingdom 91

Fire waxes strong in dry kindling-wood, affliction in fools, nger in the capricious, love in the handsome, wisdom in the intelligent, righteousness in the compassionate, fortitude in the noble 92.

[37] The meaning is that the seeds of the other trees are past with the excrement of the dove upon the silk-cotton tree, and there sprout, causing the destruction of the latter This alleged occurrence is alluded to elsewhere in Indian literature

[38] The three objects of human desire (see page 272 note 4) They all "abide in" or depend on oneself.

[39] Or, "dull"

(263) Now, O king, you said very truly that to endure association with foes is like the task of [standing on] the blade of a sword (You show that you are wise) However

A wise man, to accomplish his end, may even carry his foe on his shoulder The cobra carried the frogs and so destroyed them " 93

(264) Said the other: "(And) how was that?' Long-lived said

STORY 10 FROGS RIDE SERPENT

(265) Once there was a certain aged cobra named Weak-venom (266) He took thot with himself thus "How can I live comfortably in this manner of life?' (267) Then he went to a pond where there were many frogs, and took his seat there making himself appear as if overwhelmed with grief (268) Now as he sat thus a frog in the water askt him· "(Uncle,) why do you not look around for food today as you used to?" (269) Said he "My friend, how could I have any desire for food, wretch that I am? (And this is the reason) (270) Last night (as I was looking around for food right early in the evening) I caught sight of a frog, and drew myself up ready to spring on him and catch him (271) But he (saw me, and in fear of death) fled away into the midst of a group of brahmans (who were busily engaged in reciting holy texts), and I could not make out where he had gone (272) And I bit a (certain) brahman's son in the toe, being misled by its resemblance to a frog, (273) (whereupon) he died on the spot (274) His father (was overcome with grief and) curst me (, saying): (275) 'Wretch! Since you have bitten my son, who never did you any harm, because of this crime you shall become a vehicle for frogs to ride on (276) And you shall obtain for your sustenance [only] what their grace allows you.' (277) So I have come for you to ride upon me" (278) (And that frog told this to all the others.) At this they were overjoyed, and they all went and told it to the frog-king, whose name was Web-foot (279) Whereupon he (too, with all his ministers), considering it a remarkable thing, came in great excitement and climbed out of the pond and mounted on the serpent's back, with infinite contentment. (280) (And after him in turn the others

seated themselves in order of rank, and some who could not find room ran along behind) (281) But Weak-venom displayed many kinds of different motions (, all to further his own interests). (282) Now Web-foot said (as soon as he came in contact with the serpent)

"Travelling on Weak-venom suits me better than on an elephant or a chariot or a horse, or on a man-drawn car or a boat" 94

(283) Now on the next day Weak-venom made a pretense of exhaustion And Web-foot said to him "(Friend,) why do you draw me so very slowly today (and not as you did before)?" (284) Said he "Sire, because of lack of food I have not the strength to carry you (today as I formerly did)" (285) (Thereupon) he said "(Friend,) eat [some of] the little frogs" (286) Said he. "I wanted to do that myself, but I cannot eat except by grace of Your Majesty's orders, thus my life depends upon you." (287) Then he received permission, and thenceforth he gradually devoured the frogs, as many as he liked (288) (And in a very few days he renewed his strength) And with deep satisfaction he smiled to himself, and said:

"By a trick I have got for myself manifold food, in the frogs. How long a time before they will be all gone, with me eating them!" 95

(289) Now (when) Web-foot (heard this his suspicions were aroused, and wondering what he was saying, he) askt him· "What did you say?" (290) (At which) the serpent (to conceal his expression) replied· "(Nothing" And when he again charged him [to speak], he said "My lord,) this is what I said

Let a man never allow himself to be blasted by the curse of a brahman! Better is the state of a mountain-crag or a tree struck by the scorching blast of lightning" 96.

(291) So in spite of all these things Web-foot failed utterly to understand (, because his mind was misled by these false words). (292) (To put it briefly,) that serpent devoured every one of them, so that not so much as the seed of them was left

(End of Story 10)

(293) Therefore I say: "[A wise man, to accomplish his end,] may even carry his foe on his shoulder" &c. (294) "So,

O king, even as Weak-venom destroyed the frogs, thus I also destroyed (all) our enemies (And so)

A fire that blazes up in the forest burns, but spares the roots, while a flood of water, mild and cooling tho it is, tears up [the trees] roots and all ' 97.

(295) Cloud color said· "That is true (And likewise.)

This is the greatness of great men who wear the ornaments of good policy, that they turn not from what they have undertaken even when serious trouble arises 98

(296) Thus it is that you, Sir, have brought about complete destruction of our enemies" Said he. "Sire, so it is (And it is said)

A remnant of debt, a remnant of fire, a remnant of disease likewise, and a remnant of the foe—these a wise man should blot out utterly, leaving no remnant By so doing he shall not fail 99

(297) Sire, you are a favorite of fortune (more than others) Everything that is undertaken on your behalf succeeds. And again·

One should join the strong with the skillful, and the skillful with the quick and energetic Both of these shall prosper if they keep their outlay moderate 100.

If a man be self-controlled, truthful, wise, and resolute, is there aught that can stay out of the reach of such a man? 101.

Whose heart does not sink when troubles arise and is not over-glad in success, who controls his anger and shows forbearance, and knows the time to exert himself, who conceals scandals with care and is watchful of weak points,—fortune rests in the hands of a man of such behavior whose mind is disciplined. 102.

'Who am I? What are the present time and place, and what good or evil qualities are in evidence? Who are my enemies, and who my allies? What power have I? What means of carrying out a useful plan? What store of good fortune have I? What continuance of prosperity? And what should be my reply if my words are rejected?' Good men who fix their minds thus steadfastly on success are not disappointed. 103

(298) Therefore prowess (by itself) alone will not bring the supreme desire to fruition And it is said·

For foes that are killed with weapons are not killed, but those that are killed by wit are really killed and never appear again A weapon kills only a man's body, wit destroys his tribe and his power and his renown. 104

An arrow shot by an archer may kill a single man, or it may not A clever device launcht by a clever man may destroy a kingdom along with the king 105

(299) So if a man be (thus) attended by [the favor of] fate (and by manly endeavor), all his actions easily succeed Since:

His wit comes into play at once when he undertakes an action, his presence of mind is steadfast, riches come to him of their own accord, his plans go not awry, he achieves complete fruition, and so—is it surprising?—he attains high station, and he takes delight in deeds of renown: such is the man of destiny! 106.

(300) Therefore kingship is for him that has liberality, wisdom, and valor And it is said:

To a man who is liberal, brave, and wise, people attach themselves, and these people are his subordinates[40] To him who has subordinates[40] comes wealth; from wealth, distinction; to the distinguisht man authority, and from that kingship." 107

(301) Cloud-color said: "Father, the science of polity shows its benefits quickly, for you by your politic course found access to the owl-king Foe-crusher and destroyed him with all his followers" Long-lived said: "Sire,

Even if your purpose can only be attained by resorting to violent means, it is well first to show humility A princely tree with lofty top, the noblest product of the forest, is not felled until homage has been paid to it 108

(302) But, my lord, what profit is there in words which in the outcome lead to no (opportunity for) action? Well has it been said:

Words spoken by irresolute men, afraid of exertion, whose only interest is to amuse themselves with random prattle, lead to disappointment in the result, and become the objects of ridicule in the world. 109.

(303) (And wise men should not neglect even matters of slight importance Because)

[40] Or, punningly, "good qualities"

('I shall be able to do this, it is a slight matter and easy to perform; it requires no care!' So some men look upon their duties, and thru the blindness of negligence they fall into the agony of grief, which comes quickly when a mishap occurs 110)

(304) Now today my lord's enemies are overthrown, so that he will be able to sleep in peace as of old (And this has been said)

(In a house that contains no serpent or in which the serpents have been killed one can sleep in peace But where a serpent has been seen and has escaped, it is hard to find sleep 111)

(Until they have finisht the performance of exalted deeds that require long-continued exertions, but that are blest by the benedictions of their loved ones, that demand the height of skill and prowess, but that win for them the place of their desires,—until such time how can men that are impassioned with ambition, pride, and enterprise find room for contentment in their impatient hearts? 112)

(305) Now because I have brought to completion the work I had begun, my spirit seems to find rest (How so?)

As a heart that is freed from fever, as a body that has cast off a heavy burden is lighter, so the spirit becomes lighter when one has crost a sea [of troubles] by accomplishing his vowed purpose upon his foe 113.

(306) So now that your enemies have been destroyed, devote yourself to the protection of your subjects, and enjoy for long this kingdom, in the majesty of your throne with its parasol[41] firmly establisht in succession to your children and children's children. And also:

A king who does not delight his subjects with protection and other benefits—his name has no more use than the [false] teat on the neck of the she-goat 114.

(The king that loves virtues, despises vices, and takes delight in good policy, shall long enjoy the royal majesty that is clothed with the firm-fixt chowrie[41] and adorned with the white parasol.[41] 115.)

(307) And you must not delude yourself with the pride of good fortune, thinking 'I have got possession of the kingdom.' And that for this reason, because the fortunes of kings are

[41] Emblems of royalty

undependable (How so?) The Fortune of kingship is apt to fall the moment she is mounted, as a bamboo reed that is climbed (Like quicksilver) she is hard to hold even by (endless) effort. However earnestly you pursue her favor, she betrays you in the end Like a prince of the apes, she is fickle in her changing humors Like a streak of water on the petal of a water-lily, there is no clinging to her She is unsteady as the course of the wind, undependable as alliance with the ignoble, inaccessible to kindness as (the race of) vipers, (she glows but for a moment, as the streak of clouds at twilight,) she is perishable in her very nature, as a row of bubbles in the water, (she shows no gratitude for what is done for her, as the nature of the body;) she vanishes the moment she is seen, as a mass of riches that one gets in a dream (In short)

(No sooner has a king been installed in his kingdom, than he must turn his mind to [threatening] evils For the vessels [of holy water] used at the time of the coronation pour out upon the king disasters along with the water 116)

(308) (And there is no man whatsoever that is not liable to misfortunes And it is said·)

When one reflects on Rāma's banishment, the humiliation of Bali, the dwelling in the forest of the sons of Pāṇḍu, the destruction of the Viṣṇis, King Nala's loss of his kingdom, the dwarf-existence of Visnu, and the slaying of Arjuna, and [what happened to Rāvaṇa,] the Lord of Ceylon,—[it is clear that] man undergoes all [that befalls him] by the power of Destiny, and none can save any one from it 117.

(Whither has gone Daśaratha, the friend of the King of the Gods, who fought in heaven? Whither has gone King Sagara, who controlled the sea's flood? Whither the son of Vena, that sprang from the palm of [his father's] hand? Whither Manu, the Sun's flesh and blood? Has not almighty Time [Destiny], that first opened their eyes, now closed them? 118)

King, ministers, fair houris, parks and pleasure-gardens, lamented by men of olden time—all, all alike have been devoured by the jaws of Death 119.

Learning is the adornment of the mind, vice of folly, passion of an elephant, water of a river, the moon of night, ascetic contemplation of resolute character, and good policy of kingship 120

Joy is destroyed by disappointment, the autumn by the coming of winter, darkness by the sun, a kind deed by ingratitude, grief by a pleasant occurrence, disasters by good policy, and fortune, however magnificent it may be, by bad policy 121

(309) Thus a king who provides his subjects with the blessings of wise counsel thru his good policy (in all respects), enjoys the blessings of royalty"

Here ends the Third Book, called War and Peace (or the Crows and the Owls)

BOOK IV

THE LOSS OF ONE'S GETTINGS, OR, THE APE AND THE CROCODILE

(1) Now here begins this, the fourth book, called the Loss of One's Gettings, of which this is the opening stanza

Whosoever is beguiled by soft words into giving up a thing that he has got, is deceived just as the foolish crocodile was by the ape 1

(2) The king's sons said. "How was that?" Viṣṇuśarman said

(3) On a (certain) seashore once dwelt an ape-king named Wrinkle-face (4) And because he had become weak with old age, another ape, who was young and vigorous, (became inflamed in his heart with the fire of jealousy, and in his impatience) raised a revolt against him and drove him out of his own herd (, so that he was spending his time in exile). (5) On this (same) shore there was a fig-tree named Honey-filled. The old ape lived by eating its fruits. (6) Now once as he was eating them a fig fell from his hand into the water. (7) And as it fell (into the water) it made an agreeable splash (8) When the ape heard it he began to pluck off (other) figs again and again and to throw them down one by one, because he was idle and silly by nature and they delighted his ear. (9) Now it happened that a crocodile named Scrawny was passing below him, and he caught those figs and ate them (to his heart's content) (10) So he remained (on the spot) in order to get the sweet food. (11) And Wrinkle-face formed an affectionate attachment for him, so that he forgot even his exile from his herd (12) The crocodile's heart also was affected with great love for him, so that he put off the time of returning to his home (13) Now his wife, among her women-friends, was grieved at heart because of the long separation from him [and said]

"Where is he, my beloved? What is he doing away from home that interests him so greatly? And he stays a very long time today He wrongs himself by neglecting the 'group of three'[1]" (14) Then one of her women-friends said: "How can you have either home or wealth from such a husband, when you do not know what he is about? (15) But I saw him (with my own eyes) in a place on the seashore amusing himself in secret with some she-ape or other, and showing the greatest affection for her (16) Know this therefore, and do without delay what needs to be done" (17) And hearing this the crocodile's wife (was overcome with grief, and she gave up all her household duties, and wearing soiled garments), anointing her body with oil, (threw herself on her bed and) lay tossing her limbs about restlessly, while her women-friends stood about her (18) But when the crocodile, after overstaying his time because of his love for Wrinkle-face, returned to his house, he found his wife in this state, and in great distress of mind he inquired "What is the cause of this illness of hers?" (19) But not one of her women-friends would say a word (; they all held their peace) He askt again and again with great insistence (20) Finally one of them (who was like a second self to the crocodile's wife, showing signs of the deepest emotion,) said: (21) "(Sir,) this illness of hers is incurable (We must consider that) she is (surely) lost (this very day) There is no cure for her." (22) Hearing this the crocodile was overwhelmed with grief, and (in his great love for his wife) he said. (23) "If there is any remedy for her, even at the cost of my own life, let this life of mine be used for her sake" (24) She replied: "(Sir,) there is one and only one remedy for her malady If an ape's heart could be provided, then she would live (Otherwise she is utterly lost) This is a secret known to us women." (25) At this he reflected (to himself) "(What is this woe that has befallen me!) How can I get an ape's heart except from Wrinkle-face? But that would be (most villainous and) wicked. And yet.

Should a wife take first place, or a friend that excels in nobility? Surely as between wife and friend the wife comes first. 2.

[1] The objects of human desire, see page 272, note 4.

Thru her the 'group of three'[2] is won completely, thru her [are won] friends, thru her renown The whole world depends on her, so who would not rate her highly?" 3

(26) In great perplexity he reflected again

"My one and only beloved friend, who has done so much for me and is full of noble qualities, must be slain for the sake of a woman! Woe has befallen me!' 4

(27) Meditating thus, (while his heart resisted his going,) he set out very slowly towards Wrinkle-face (28) Perceiving him (coming slowly), the ape said "My friend, what is the cause of your delay[3] today?" (29) Said he: "(Friend,) I will tell you what grieves me I cannot enjoy your company so much, for this reason: tho you have been showing me nothing but kindness for this long time, I have not been able to do you even the slightest favor in return And likewise

Men cleave unto friendship because of self-interest But you, O noblest of apes, show unselfish affection 5

(30) And yet, this saying fits you very well

To benefit those to whom one owes no benefits, to do kindnesses, to be mindful of favors done, and to raise the fallen—this is characteristic of the noble" 6.

(31) The other replied "Why, surely this is a benefit (that cannot be surpast): while I have been exiled from my land and my kinsmen, I have found a refuge with you, because of the friendship that has sprung up between us, and am spending my time in (peace and) comfort (Well has this been said)

Who created this two-syllabled jewel called 'comrade,' which saves from grief, discontent, and danger, and is a vessel of love and trust?" 7.

(32) The crocodile said:

"What greater friendship can there be than this, that includes meeting [your friend's] wife, eating peacefully in [his] house, and telling secrets? 8

(33) Now I have not brought you to my house, presented you to my wife, or given you to eat from my dish" (34) The

[2] See preceding page, note 1.

[3] Or possibly "distraction [of mind]," this is the more usual meaning of the Sanskrit word (vyākṣepa), but the versions nearly all agree on the sense of "delay"

ape replied "(What of that? Such is the friendship of common folk And again)

A base man may show you his wife, as before actors on the stage Cattle are fed, so that means nothing at all For it is the very nature of the noble, and requires no effort in them, to do good to those with whom they associate" 9

(35) Said the other.

"What wonder is it if a righteous man honors the wise and virtuous? It would be strange only if a base-born man did so, that would be like coolness in the sun's orb 10. And yet.

One should not overwhelm a friend or kinsman with an excess of affection A cow repulses her own calf with the tip of her horn when he tries to drink too much 11

(36) (Therefore,) my friend, (I also have a return favor to offer you) My house is on a lovely island in the midst of the sea Trees like the heavenly Tree of Wishes grow there, [with fruits] that taste like nectar So do you climb on my back and visit my home" (37) At this speech the ape was greatly pleased, and said "Very good, my friend, this pleases me much Take me there quickly!" (38) Then that crocodile took upon his back the ape, all unsuspecting and subject to impending doom, and as he went along he reflected "Alas!

This business of women is exceedingly grievous, and yet it is the cream of life For the sake of a woman I am committing this horrible crime, much as I condemn it 12 (And what of this?)

Gold is proved by a touchstone, a man is said to be proved by his conduct in business, an ox is proved by a burden; but there is no known way of proving women 13

(39) (So for a woman's sake I must murder my friend)" As the crocodile was speaking thus the ape said to him: "What are you saying?" Said he "Nothing." Then, because he would not tell him, the ape became uneasy, and reflected. (40) "What can be the reason of this, that the crocodile makes no answer to my question? (Now I will draw out his secret purpose by craft)" (41) So thinking he once more questioned him very urgently He replied. "My wife is afflicted with an incurable illness (and that is why I am sad)" The ape said "Cannot anything be done for her recovery by physicians or sorcerers' spells?" The crocodile replied "We have askt them

too, and they said that she cannot live except by an ape's heart" (42) When the ape heard this he gave himself up for lost, and reflected to himself "Alas, (I am undone,) I am suffering the consequence of being a slave to sensual enjoyments, in spite of my age And is it not said?—

Even in forest-life vices control men that are subject to passions, control of the five senses, tho one live in his house, is ascetic austerity For the man who has forsaken his passions, who does nothing blameworthy, his own house is a penance-grove" 14

(43) Meditating thus he said to the crocodile "Friend, you have not done well (If this is the case, then) why did you not tell me in the first place? I left my heart behind there when I came along. I should have come bringing it And it is said

Whosoever desires the three-fold benefits of religion, worldly success, and love, should not come empty-handed to see a brahman, a king, or a woman" 15

(44) Said the other. "Where is that heart of yours?" The ape replied· "On that same fig-tree (45) It is well known that apes always keep their hearts on trees (46) If you have any use for it, let us return and get my heart and then come." (47) When the crocodile heard this he was glad, and turned about, and made for the shore. (48) (Then) the ape (in great delight) sprang up eagerly and climbed upon a branch (of the fig-tree and sat there, thinking "Ho! My life is saved after all!"). (49) (But) the crocodile (down below) said "Friend, bring along your heart and come quickly" (50) He replied (with a laugh) "I shall not come again! (I understood the whole business, what I said was meant to trick you) Get you gone, fool! Is the heart ever found outside of the body?

By craft you hoped to kill me, I have used counter-craft And by deluding you I have saved myself from death" 16

(51) (And when the crocodile realized what he had in mind, he said. "Friend, even without your heart, come along anyway; I will cure her disease by using some other remedy" The ape said) (52) "Villain, I am not an ass!

When he had come and gone again, and after going had come back once more, the fool that had neither ears nor heart met his death on the spot" 17

(53) Said the other "(And) how was that?" The ape said

STORY I ASS WITHOUT HEART AND EARS

(54) In a (certain) forest-region dwelt a lion. (55) (And) he had a certain jackal for his attendant. (56) Now this lion was once attackt by a stomach-trouble and lost his power to do anything. (57) (And) when the jackal's throat had grown lean with hunger he said to him: "Sire, how can we live thus doing nothing?" (58) Said he: "Friend, this disease of mine can be cured only by the remedy of an ass's heart and ears, and in no other way. (59) Therefore bend all your efforts to bringing me an ass." He replied: "As my lord commands." (60) So speaking he departed, and when he had found an ass belonging to a washerman in the neighborhood of a town, he said to him: (61) "(Friend,) why are you so lean?" (62) He replied: "(My friend,) I live by carrying every day a great load (of clothes), and [yet] this villain [of a washerman] does not give me enuf to eat." (63) Said he: "Why let yourself be tormented thus? I will take you to a place where you will think yourself in heaven!" (64) He said: "Tell me, how?" (65) Said the other: "In this stretch of woods (full of emerald-green grass, thru which a river flows,) there are three beautiful she-asses such as you never saw before, blooming with the freshness of youth, and I think they have run away because they were weary of the same troubles that you suffer. I will bring you to them." (66) (And) hearing this he agreed, saying "Do so!" And he brought him (, the fool,) into the presence of the lion. (67) And when he saw the ass (within reach of his paws), the lion was rejoist and (sprang up and) leapt upon him. But because of his weakness the ass (managed to get away and turned and) fled (without looking back), his heart smitten with terror. (68) Then the jackal said to the lion: "(Well!) is *that* the best sort of a blow you can deliver? If you cannot so much as kill an ass (when he is brought before you), how can you expect to conquer your rivals?" (69) He replied: "(Undoubtedly!) But just bring him back again, and this time I will kill him." (70) Said he: "Be ready (for him), that he may not escape again in the same way when I bring him back by my power of wit, in spite of his having felt your prowess!" And (with a laugh) he departed. (71) Going up to

the ass he said. "Why did you turn back?" (72) Said he. "(A terrible thing happened to me!) Some sort of creature (as big as a mountain-peak, I know not what it was,) fell upon me, so that I ran away from it (barely saving my life)" (73) He replied "You did not understand! (And it is said)

It generally happens in this world that when men are seeking the 'group of three'[4], hindrances that really do not exist arise out of their own imagination 18

(74) When that she-ass saw you she (was stirred with great lust and) started to embrace you passionately (And you were such a coward that you fled) But she could not bear to be without you, and as you fled she put out her arm to stop you, that was all there was to it So come back!" (75) Hearing this the ass said. "I will come with you" (So saying,) (76) he was led back (again by the jackal), and the lion caught him and killed him (77) (Then after he had killed him) the lion said "(Friend,) the rule for applying the remedy is this, that it is applied after worship of the gods and other rites (Only then does it have its effect) Wherefore do you (stay here quietly and) watch until I have bathed and performed the daily sacred rites and come back" (78) (With these words he departed) And when the lion had gone the jackal, thinking "It must be an excellent physic!", (and being very greedy, himself) ate the heart and ears (of the ass). (79) (And when he had eaten them he wiped his mouth and paws clean and waited And having bathed) the lion came back and (made the formal turn to the right [about the body] and) failed to find the heart and ears. And he said: (80) "(What has happened here? Tell me,) where are his heart and ears?" (81) The jackal said "(My lord,) how could this fool have had heart[5] or ears? (Surely) if he had had heart or ears, would he have acted thus?—'When he had come and gone again,' &c" (82) (At this) the lion was silent.

(End of Story 1)

(83) "Therefore I say· I am not an ass! (So) get you gone, you cannot trick me (again)

[4] See page 394, note 1, *et passim*

[5] The Hindus regard the heart as the seat of the intelligence

You first attempted your purpose with crafty words, but I perceived it thru the faults of your wit, carefully hidden tho they were, and I also took a lesson from your over-excessive cleverness and gained time by crafty words Like has met like! 19 And this is well said

Assuredly the very slips of judgment that one makes may serve to enlighten the judgment They cure the minds of intelligent men who know the truth, like excellent medicines" 20

(84) Then the crocodile said to Wrinkle-face, his mind being imprest with his skillful wit

"The wise proclaim their own folly, but laud the wisdom of others, however, in whatever they undertake, their efforts never fail." 21.

(85) So saying, with disappointed hopes, he went to his own abode

Here ends the Fourth Book, called the Loss of One's Gettings

BOOK V

HASTY ACTION, OR, THE BRAHMAN AND THE MONGOOSE

(1) Now here begins this, the fifth book, called Hasty Action, of which this is the opening stanza

Whosoever, without knowing the true facts of the case, yields to the sway of wrath, soon loses his friend, as the brahman the mongoose 1.

(2) The king's sons said. "(And) how was that?" Viṣṇuśarman said

(3) In the Gāuḍa-country there dwelt a (certain) brahman (of good family) named Devaśarman[1] (4) (And) his wife was (a brahman-woman) named Yajñadattā[2] (5) (One time) she conceived (as a result of former good deeds) (6) And when Devaśarman perceived this he was (greatly) rejoist, (and reflected thus "A great blessing has come upon me, for I shall get a child!"), and he said to his wife. (7) "(My dear,) your hopes are gratified You shall bear a son, and all my desires shall be fulfilled in him, and I shall perform all the sacred rites for him, the rites of (conception,) birth, name-giving, and so on (And) he shall be the support of my house." (8) (Thus addrest) his wife said "Who knows whether it will be a boy or not? (Therefore) it is not fitting to speak thus of something that is unknown One should not rejoice too soon And it is said·

A man who wants to dream about the future will find himself lying on the ground all whitened, like Somaśarman's father" 2.

(9) Said he: "(And) how was that?" She replied·

STORY 1 THE BRAHMAN WHO BUILT AIR-CASTLES

(10) There was a certain brahman's son who was plying his studies. (11) He received sacrificial offerings (of food) in the

[1] "God-delight" or "God-help"

[2] "Sacrifice-given"

house of a certain merchant (12) (And) when he did not eat there, he received a measure of grits This he took home and put it in a jar and saved it. And so in the course of a long time this jar of his became full of grits (13) One time the brahman was lying on his bed underneath that jar, which he had hung on a wall-peg, having taken a nap in the day-time (and waked up again), and he was meditating thus: (14) "Very high is the price of (grain, and still higher grits, which are) food all prepared So I must have grits worth as much as twenty rupees (15) And if I sell them I can get as many as ten she-goats (worth two rupees apiece) (16) And when they are six months old they will bear young, and their offspring (will) also (bring forth) (17) And after five years they will be very numerous, as many as four hundred (18) (And it is commonly reported that) for four she-goats you can get a cow (that is young and rich in milk, and that has all the best qualities, and that brings forth live calves) So I shall trade those same she-goats for a hundred cows (19) And when they calve some of their offspring will be bullocks, and with them I shall engage in farming and raise a plenty of grain (20) From the sale of the grain I shall get much gold, and I shall build a beautiful mansion (of bricks), enclosed by walls. (21) And some worthy brahman, when he sees what a great fortune I have, with abundance of men-servants and maid-servants and all sorts of goods, will (surely) give me his beautiful daughter [to wife] (22) And (in the course of time) I shall beget on her body a boy that shall maintain my line, strengthened by the merit I have acquired, he shall be long-lived and free from disease (23) (And when I have performed for him the birth-rite and other ceremonies in prescribed fashion,) I shall give him the name of Somaśarman[3]. (24) (And while the boy is running about) my wife will be busy with her household duties at the time when the cows come home and will (be very careless and) pay no heed to the lad (25) (Then, because my heart is completely mastered by love for the boy,) I shall (brandish a cudgel and) beat my wife with my cudgel" (26) So (in his reverie) he brandisht his cudgel and struck that jar, so that it fell down (broken) in a hundred pieces all over himself

[3] "Moon-delight" or "Moon-help"

(, and the grits were scattered) Then that brahman's body was all whitened by the powdered grits and he felt as if awakened out of a dream and was greatly abasht (, and the people laught at him)

(End of Story 1)

(27) "Therefore I say. (You ought not) 'to dream about the future' (When the event has been disclosed you can act upon it) You cannot paint a picture until you have the panel' (28) Now when the time (of birth) arrived, the brahman's wife brought forth a son (bearing the auspicious marks) (29) (Then) on the tenth day after the birth (when he had performed the rite [of name-giving]) the brahman's wife left the boy in his father's care and (arose and) went to a (near-by) river to purify herself (and to wash her soiled garments) (30) (But) the brahman kept watch over the boy (, since he was so poor that he could not afford a servant and did his own work) (31) Now as it was a day of the moon's change, the chief queen sent from the king's palace a maid-servant to bring a reader of sacred texts, and she called upon the brahman (32) When the brahman received the summons (as he had suffered from poverty all his life long,) he thot (33) "If I do not go at once, some one else will get the sacrifice[4] There is no one to watch the boy What shall I do?" (34) (Under these circumstances) he left behind a mongoose that he had raised just like a son, keeping him in his house (in the room where the sacred fire was kept and feeding him on kernels of corn and the like), and so (the brahman) departed (35) But the mongoose soon saw a cobra coming out of a hole in the ground and going up near the child (36) And as soon as he saw it (his eyes flamed with anger, and his lips, teeth, and paws quivered, and) he sprang up at once and fell upon the serpent and tore it to pieces (37) And when he saw the brahman coming back, he ran forth with great joy to show him [what he had done], with his mouth and paws (still) stained with blood (38) Now when that hasty brahman saw the mongoose with his muzzle smeared with blood, he thot "(What!) has he eaten my boy?" and he slew him with

[1] Specifically, *śrāddha*-offering (to deceast ancestors), performed on the days of the moon's change, to the accompaniment of Vedic recitations

his stick (39) Thereupon, (having killed him,) as soon as the brahman entered the house, he saw the child lying asleep and unhurt (just as he was), and the cobra cut to pieces (near him) (40) And he beat his breast, crying out. "Ah, woe is me, unhappy wretch! What a wicked thing (is this that) I have done!" (41) And when his wife came back (and found the brahman weeping) and saw the mongoose slain and the serpent cut into (a hundred) pieces, she said (to the brahman) "What does this mean (, brahman, and how did it happen)?" (42) (Whereupon) the brahman told her the whole story. And the (prudent) wife (was deeply distrest and) said (to the brahman):

"What is not rightly seen, not rightly understood, not rightly heard, and not rightly investigated, should not be done by any man—as was done by the barber" 3.

(43) Said he "(And) how was that?" She replied

STORY 2 THE BARBER WHO KILLED THE MONKS

(44) There was (in) a certain (city a) merchant's son (of old), who had lost his wealth, his kinsfolk, and his fortune, and was ground down by poverty (Attended by his old nurse he had lived since childhood in a part of a broken-down dwelling, and) he had been brought up by his old nurse (, a slave-woman). (45) ([Once] early in the evening) he meditated, sighing a long (and earnest) sigh "Alas, when will there be an end to this [my] poverty?" As he pondered thus he fell asleep; and it was night (46) And (towards morning) he saw a dream. Three monks came and (woke him and) said to him. "Friend, tomorrow we shall come to visit you in this same form (For [we are] three heaps of treasure stored away by your forefathers,) and when you slay us with a cudgel we shall turn into dinars. And you must show no mercy in doing this" (47) So in the morning he awoke, still pondering on this dream, and said to the nurse. "Today, (mother,) you must be well prepared all day for a solemn rite. Make the house ceremonially pure by smearing on cow-dung and so forth, and we will feed three brahmans to the best of our ability. I for my part am going to get a barber." (48) So it was done, and the barber came to trim his beard and nails When his beard had been trimmed in proper fashion, the figures which he had seen in the dream

came in (49) And as soon as the merchant's son saw these monks, he dealt with them as he had been commanded And they became piles of money (50) And as he took in this mass of wealth, the merchant's son gave the barber three hundred dinars (as a fee, and) in order to keep the secret (51) But the barber, having seen him [do this], went home and drew a hasty conclusion from what he had seen, and thot· "I too will kill three monks (with a cudgel) and turn them into three heaps of treasure" (52) So he took a cudgel and stood in readiness, and presently three monks, impelled by their previous deeds, came a-begging (53) Thereupon the barber smote them with the cudgel and killed them And he got no treasure (54) Straightway the king's officers came and arrested the barber and took him away and impaled him

(End of Story 2)

(55) Therefore I say· "What is not rightly seen, not rightly understood" &c (56) "(So you also are just such a fool Therefore wise men must not perform any action until it has been carefully considered)"

Here ends the Fifth Book, called Hasty Action

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page 42, footnote 32 On this subject (translations from the Pahlavi into Arabic) see now Sprengling, *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, 40 (1924), 81 ff, especially 86 ff

Page 128, line 19 of first paragraph: for "versons" read "versions"

Page 161, last line of paragraph (13) read *evāinam ghātayiṣyanti*

Page 173, line 2 of paragraph (17) read "(Pn *yayā*)"

Page 294, line 2 of § 196 for "your" read "our"

Page 337, seventh line from bottom for "abanbon" read "abandon"